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OA/ID Number: 13649
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Folder Title:
Texas A&M University 12/15/92 [OA 8485]

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Document No. 367275

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/14/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M, 12/15/92

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REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

DRAFT: December 14, 1992,
7:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

Good afternoon, everyone. Dr. Bill Mobley, thank you for that kind introduction. Congressman Joe Barton. Commissioner Rick Perry. Representative Steve Ogden. Fred McClure. Ross Margraves. Members of the Board of Regents. Members of the Library committee. Thanks to my hosts, the Memorial Student Center Political Forum. And my heartiest thanks to the Corps of Cadets and the Fightin' Texas Aggies band.

In 36 days, I will hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in the wartime skies over the Pacific. Our country won that great contest but entered an uneasy peace: the fires of World War II cooled into a longer Cold War, one that froze the world into two opposing camps: on the one side, America and its allies -- the forces of freedom against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American.

Three years ago, when I addressed the graduating class of Texas A & M, I spoke of the need to move "beyond containment." And I said, "We seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations.... Ultimately, our objective is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order." Was this aim too ambitious? Not for the American people.

Today, by the grit of our people and the grace of God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. I leave the White

House grateful for what we have achieved together, and exhilarated by the promise of what can come to pass.

This afternoon I would like to share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one. Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: the last best hope of man on earth.

This is a fact -- a truth made indelible by the struggles and agonies of the 20th century -- and in the sacrifice symbolized by each towering oak on Simpson Drill Field here at Texas A & M. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us.

History's lesson is clear: When a war-weary America withdrew from the international stage following World War I, the world spawned militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations -- a community whose strength, perseverance, patience, and unity of purpose contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

In the end, Soviet communism proved no match for free enterprise beyond its borders or the yearning for liberty within them. And the American leadership that undermined the confidence and

capacity of the communist regimes became a beacon for all the peoples of the world.

Steadfast and sure, generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic Alliance held together by bonds of principle and love of liberty -- facing a Warsaw Pact lashed together by occupation troops, quisling governments, and, when all else failed, the use of tanks against people.

By the 1980's, Kremlin leaders found that our Alliance would not crack when they threatened America's allies with the infamous SS-20 nuclear missile. Nor did the Alliance shrink from the deployment of countervailing missiles to defend against this menace.

In the Pacific, too, we built a new alliance with Japan, defended Korea, and called hundreds of thousands of Americans to sacrifice in the jungles of Southeast Asia.

The American people demonstrated that they would shoulder whatever defense burden, make whatever sacrifice was needed to assure our freedom and protect our allies and interests. We made use of the superb technology our free enterprise system has produced. Having learned that they could not divide our Alliance, the Soviets eventually were forced to realize that their command economy simply could not compete. As the Soviet

system stalled and crumbled, so too did the ability of its rulers to deny their people the truth -- about us, and about them.

In the end Soviet communism was destroyed by its own internal contradictions. New leaders with new vision faced the hard truths their predecessors had long denied. Glasnost and perestroika may have been Russian words -- but the concepts at their core were universal.

The Soviet Union did not simply lose the Cold War; the Western democracies won it. I say this not to gloat but to make a point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle -- faith, strength, unity, and above all American leadership -- are those we must call upon now to win the peace.

In recent years, with the Soviet empire in its death throes, the potential for crisis and conflict was never greater, the demand for American leadership never more compelling:

-- As the peoples of Eastern Europe made their bold move for freedom, we urged them along a peaceful path to liberation. They turned to America -- and we did not turn away.

-- When our German friends took their hammers to tear down that wall, we encouraged a united Germany safely within the NATO Alliance. They looked to America -- and we did not look away.

-- When the people of Russia blocked the tanks that tried to roll back the tide of history, America did not walk away.

[[I can remember speaking to Boris Yeltsin at that terrible moment of crisis. At times the static on the telephone made it almost impossible to hear him. But there was no mistaking what he wanted to know. He asked where the United States of America stood. And America answered, for all the world to hear, "We stand with you."]]

President Yeltsin hasn't forgotten. On his visit to the White House this June, he said -- and I quote -- the United States "was the first ... to understand the true scope and meaning of the victory of the Russian people on August 19, 1991."]]

The free peoples of the world watched in awe as the Soviet Union collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place -- wondering who might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. We acted decisively to help the new leaders reduce their arsenals -- and gain firm control of those that remained.

Here, then, is the remarkable fact that history will record: the end of a titanic clash of political systems, the collapse of the most heavily armed empire in history, took place without a shot being fired. That should be a source of pride for every American.

From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the Cold War, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable. No one person deserves credit for this; America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for -- and what we are made of.

Yes, we answered the call and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to win the democratic peace -- not for half a world, as before, but for people the world over. The end of the Cold War has placed in our hands a unique opportunity to see the principles for which America has stood for two centuries -- democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law -- spread more widely than ever before in human history.

For the first time, turning this global vision into a new and better world is a realistic possibility. It is a hope that embodies our country's tradition of idealism, which has made us unique among nations, and uniquely successful. And our vision is not mere Utopianism: the advance of democratic ideals reflects a hard-nosed sense of American self-interest. For certain truths have now become evident: Governments responsive to the will of the people are not likely to commit aggression -- to sponsor terrorism -- or to threaten humanity with weapons of mass destruction. Likewise, the global spread of free markets, by encouraging trade, investment, and growth, will sustain the

expansion of American prosperity. In short, by helping others, we help ourselves.

Some will dismiss this vision as no more than a dream. I ask them to consider the last four years, when a dozen dreams were made real. The Berlin Wall demolished and Germany united; the captive nations set free; Russia democratic; whole classes of nuclear weapons eliminated, the rest vastly reduced; many nations united in our historic UN coalition to turn back a tyrant in the Persian Gulf; Israel and its Arab neighbors talking peace -- face to face -- in a region that has known so much war.

Each of these once seemed a dream. Today they are concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power, and American moral force. Without doubt, there will be serious obstacles and set-backs ahead. We face some already. Violence, poverty, ethnic and religious hatreds will be powerful adversaries. Overcoming them will take time and tenacity, courage and commitment; but they can be overcome.

Look to Europe -- where nations, after centuries of war, transformed themselves into a peaceful, progressive community. No society, no continent, should be disqualified from sharing the ideals of human liberty. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever. And it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by invigorating our international institutions, America does not have stand alone.

Yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. We have carried the burden too long, they say, and the disappearance of the Soviet challenge means America can withdraw from international responsibilities. Others assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy, that we have done our part and now it is someone else's turn. We are warned against entangling ourselves in the troubles that abound in today's world. To name only a few: clan warfare and mass starvation in Somalia; savage violence in Bosnia; instability in the former Soviet Union; the alarming growth of virulent nationalism throughout Europe.

And it is true: These problems -- some frozen by the Cold War, others held in check by communist repression -- seem to have ignited all at once, taxing the world's ability to respond. But let us be clear: The alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less; not the flourishing of American principles but their isolation in a world actively hostile to them.

"Destiny," it has been said, "is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved." We can never safely assume that our future will be an improvement over the past. Our choice as a people is simple: We can either shape our times, or we can let the times shape us. And shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate -- morally, economically, and strategically.

Morally, a failure to respond to massive human catastrophes like that in Somalia would scar our national soul. There can be no single or simple set of guidelines for foreign policy -- but we should consider using military force in those situations where the stakes warrant, and where force is likely to be effective.

Economically, a world of escalating instability and hostile nationalism will disrupt global markets, ignite trade wars and set us on a path of economic decline. American jobs would be lost, our chance to compete would be blocked, and our very well-being would be undermined.

Strategically, abandonment of the world-wide democratic revolution could be disastrous for American security. In Russia, in Eastern Europe, in Central Asia, the alternative to democracy is authoritarianism: repressive regimes that can be xenophobic, aggressive, and violent. And in a world where weapons of mass destruction are spreading, the collapse of the democratic revolution could pose a direct threat to the safety of every American.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. Let me be blunt: a retreat from American leadership -- from American involvement -- would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would pay dearly.

But we can influence the future. We can rededicate ourselves to the hard work of freedom. This does not mean running off on reckless, expensive crusades. It does not mean bearing the

world's burdens alone. But it does mean leadership -- economic, political, and, yes, military -- when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference. When we place our young men and women of the military in harm's way, we must be able to assure them -- and their families -- that their mission is defined, and that its success can be achieved.

It seems like ages ago that the people of Germany tore down that Wall. But it has been only three years -- and just over a year since the August coup was defeated by brave Russian democrats. In this brief time, we have embarked on a new course, through uncharted waters. The United States and its friends -- old and new -- have begun to define the post-Cold War reality. We are already transforming the old network of alliances, institutions, and regimes to face the future. Those challenges must be met with collective action, led by the United States, to protect and promote our political, economic, and security values.

Our foundation must be the democratic community that won the Cold War. We have begun to adapt America's political, economic, and defense relationships with Europe and Japan to ensure their vitality and strength in this new era. For these will be our primary partners in addressing the next generation of problems and opportunities.

For example, we have begun to transform the Atlantic Alliance, that bulwark against the Soviet threat, into a partnership with a more united Europe -- a partnership primed to meet new security challenges in this age of uncertainty. And a new feature of our

Alliance, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, enables NATO to reach out to our former adversaries in the Warsaw Pact.

In the Pacific, we have affirmed the importance of the U.S.-Japan security ties to stability in Asia. But we are also exploring ways to work together as global partners to address common interests -- in economics, development, and regional problems.

Then we have committed ourselves to expanding the democratic community by supporting political and economic freedom in nascent democracies and market economies. And we are sharing this burden with the very nations America helped after World War II.

In Central and Eastern Europe, our Enterprise Funds and other programs have helped develop a new political, economic, and civic infrastructure for nations long oppressed by Stalin's legacy. Now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in the lands of our former enemies.

In Latin America, the day of the dictator has given way to the dawn of democracy. This very day, Vice President Quayle is taking part in a ceremony in El Salvador that caps the long effort to end the killing and give the people there the opportunity to live in peace. Throughout the region, economic initiatives are helping a new generation of leaders reform their societies. The Brady Plan and our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative have opened up extraordinary possibilities for a new relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. Investment, free

trade, debt relief, and environmental protection will nurture the home-grown reforms throughout Latin America.

We are strengthening the ability of the democratic community to deal with the political landmines that the Cold War has exposed -- aggressive nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil war, and humanitarian crises. The United States has led the world in supporting a United Nations more capable of dealing with these crises.

All over the world -- Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola, Cambodia -- we have promoted elections not only as a goal, but as a tool, a device for resolving conflicts and establishing political legitimacy.

In the area of security and arms control, we've stepped up patrol against the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The new Chemical Weapons Convention will ban chemical weapons from the arsenals of all participating states. We've strengthened multilateral export controls on nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile-related technologies. In a mission without precedent, a UN inspection team is demolishing Iraq's unconventional weapons capability. Once implemented, the agreements we've negotiated will ban new nuclear states on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Above all, we have sought to erase nuclear nightmares from the sleep of future generations.

And we underscored one key security principle with a line in the sand: naked aggression against our vital interests will be

answered decisively by American resolve, leadership, and might. Our victory in the Persian Gulf War was more than a blow for justice -- it was a reminder to other would-be aggressors that they will pay a price for their outlaw acts.

We have been committed to building the basis for sustained international economic growth -- for ourselves and for those nations of what were once the so-called second and third worlds. The heart of our efforts has been the creation of a stronger and freer international trading market.

Our recent breakthrough with the European Community clears the way for an early conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT and a major boost to world economic recovery. This week, Mexico, Canada, and the United States will sign a landmark agreement establishing the largest free trade zone the world has ever seen. And our efforts to forge a new mechanism for Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation confirm America's commitment to remain an economic and security power in Asia.

I believe we have taken important steps toward a world in which democracy is the norm, in which private enterprise, free trade, and prosperity enrich every region -- a world in which the rule of law prevails, and in which ethnic hatred has been buried for good.

We must not stumble as we travel toward a world without the brutal violence of Bosnia, the deadly anarchy of Somalia, or the squalor that still haunts much of the Southern Hemisphere. We

cannot rest while a handful of renegade regimes aspire to obtain weapons of mass destruction with which to threaten their neighbors, or even America. There is much to be done before we are within reach of the democratic peace. But these first steps have taken us in the right direction.

The challenge ahead is as great as the one we faced at the end of the last great war. But the opportunity is vastly greater. Success will require American vision and resolve -- an America secure in its military, moral and economic strength. Success will require unity of purpose: a commitment on the part of all our people to the proposition that our Nation's destiny lies in the hope of a better world -- a new world made better, with our friends and allies, by American leadership.

History is summoning us once again to lead. Proud of its past, America must once again look forward. We must live up to the greatness of our forefathers' ideals, and in doing so secure our grandchildren's futures.

That is the cause that much of my public life has been dedicated to serving. That is the cause that you and I must now support our new President in pursuing.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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December 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAN MC GROARTY

FROM: ANDREW FERGUSON *af*

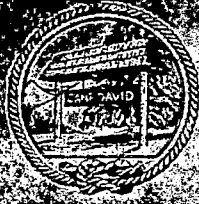
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS AT TEXAS A & M

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, December 15th at noon you will deliver remarks to an audience of 7,500 students and faculty in the G. Rollie White Coliseum on the campus of Texas A & M.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 25 minutes / teleprompter) focus on your foreign policy accomplishments and America's role in the post-Cold War world.



THE PRESIDENT

11, 1992

92

Tie In to A & M History.

When A&M's most decorated hero (name) of WWI finished his active service, a war weary America withdrew etc.

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an 50 years

country won that

great contest but entered an uneasy peace: the fires of World War II cooled into a longer Cold War, one that froze the world into two opposing camps -- the forces of freedom against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American. Now, by the grit of our people and the grace of our God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. I leave the White House grateful for what together we have achieved, and exhilarated by the promise of what we can ~~yet bring to~~ ^{come to} pass.



This afternoon I would like to share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one. Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: the last best hope ^(on?) of earth.



This is a fact: a truth made indelible by the struggles and agonies of the 20th century. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us. History's lesson is clear: When America, victorious but weary, withdrew from the

DRAFT: December 11, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

(Acknowledgments)

In XX days, I will hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in the wartime skies over the Pacific. Our country won that great contest but entered an uneasy peace: the fires of World War II cooled into a longer Cold War, one that froze the world into two opposing camps -- the forces of freedom against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American. Now, by the grit of our people and the grace of our God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. I leave the White House grateful for what together we have achieved, and exhilarated by the promise of what we can ~~yet bring to~~ ^{come to} pass. ✓

This afternoon I would like to share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one. Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: ^(over?) the last best hope of earth. X

This is a fact: a truth made indelible by the struggles and agonies of the 20th century. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us. History's lesson is clear: When America, victorious but weary, withdrew from the international stage following World War I, the world spawned

militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations -- a community whose moral resolve and economic strength contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

In the end, Soviet communism proved no match for free enterprise beyond its borders or the yearning for liberty within them. And the American leadership that undermined the confidence and capacity of the communist regimes became a light for all the peoples of the world.

Steadfast and sure, generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic Alliance held together by enduring bonds among true friends, facing a Warsaw Pact forced together by occupation troops, quisling governments, and, when all else failed, the use of tanks against people.

By the 1980's, Kremlin leaders found that our Alliance would not crack when they threatened America's allies with the infamous SS-20 nuclear missile. Nor would ^{would the Alliance} ~~we~~ bend under pressure once we decided to deploy to Europe missiles to protect our Allies from this menace. ✓

The American people showed that they would shoulder whatever defense burden was needed to assure our freedom and protect our

allies and interests. We made use of the splendid technology our free enterprise system has produced. We showed that free people are capable of both sacrifice and strength. Having learned that they could not divide our Alliance, the Soviets eventually were forced to doubt that their command economy could keep them in the race. As the Soviet system stalled and crumbled, so too did the ability of its rulers to deny their people the truth -- about us, and about them.

True, in the end Soviet communism was destroyed by its own dysfunctional dialectic. But the Soviet Union did not simply lose the Cold War; the Western democracies won it. I say this not to gloat but to make a point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle -- faith, strength, unity, and above all American leadership -- are those we must call upon now to win the peace.

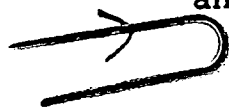
With Soviet communism in its death throes in recent years, the potential for cataclysm was never greater, the demand for American leadership was never more compelling:

-- As the peoples of Eastern Europe made their bold but peaceful move for freedom, they turned to America. And we did not turn away.

-- When our German friends took their hammers to tear down that wall, they looked to America for solidarity. And we did not look away.

// is this
OK
New leader
care in
vision
glamor
peace

mention
re-ambition



-- When the people of Russia blocked the tanks that tried to roll back the tide of history, Boris Yeltsin asked where we stood. America did not walk away. America answered, for

the world to hear, "We stand with you." *and for this day*

B.Y. adds us for being the first clear ~~the~~ story voice to say we stand with you

The free peoples of the world watched in awe as the Soviet Union collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place -- at whoever might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. We acted decisively to help the new leaders reduce their arsenals.

Here, then, is the remarkable fact that history will record: the end of a titantic clash of political systems, the collapse of the most heavily armed empire in history, took place without a shot being fired. That should be a source of pride for every American.

From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the Cold War, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable. No one person deserves credit for this; America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for -- and are made of.

Yes, we answered the call and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to create a democratic peace -- not for half a world, as before, but for people the world over. The end of the

Cold War has placed in our hands the chance to change history: to see the principles of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law -- American principles -- embraced and enjoyed by the entire human race.

This global vision can energize America as we approach the millennium. It embodies our country's tradition of idealism, which has made us unique among nations, and uniquely successful. But more than that: the advance of democratic ideals reflects a hard-nosed sense of American self-interest. For if the long struggle now concluded has taught us anything, it is this: Democracies do not commit aggression. Democracies do not sponsor terrorism. Democracies do not threaten humanity with weapons of mass destruction. Likewise, the global spread of free markets, through trade, investment, and growth, will sustain the expansion of American prosperity. By helping others, in short, we help ourselves.

Germany re-united?

Some will dismiss this vision as no more than a dream. I ask them to consider the last four years, when a dozen dreams were made real. The Berlin Wall demolished; the captive nations set free; Russia democratic; whole classes of nuclear weapons eliminated, the rest vastly reduced; ^{May} ~~the~~ United Nations turning ^{united in historical coalition under US leadership} back a tyrant in the Persian Gulf; Israel and each of its Arab neighbors talking peace in a region that has known so much war.

Each of these was once a dream. Today they are concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power, and

K.S. Smith

American moral force. There were obstacles and set-backs; they were overcome.

And surely serious obstacles and set-backs will confront us again. We face some already. Violence, poverty, and tribal and religious hatreds will be powerful adversaries. Overcoming them will take time and tenacity, courage and resolve; but they will be overcome. For no society, no continent, should be disqualified from our ideals. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever. And it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by strengthening our international institutions, America does not have to go it alone.

Yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. The disappearance of the Soviet challenge, they say, means America can withdraw from international responsibilities. Others assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy, that we have done our part and now it is someone else's turn. We are warned against stepping up to the troubles that abound in today's world: clan warfare and mass starvation in Somalia; savage violence in Bosnia; instability in Russia; the alarming growth of virulent nationalism throughout Europe. *to name but a few*

And it is true: These problems -- some frozen by the Cold War, *(some held in check by Moscow's once repressive system)* others held in check by communist repression -- seem to have ignited all at once, taxing the world's ability to respond. But let us be clear: The alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less; not the flourishing of

American principles but their isolation in a world actively hostile to them. "Destiny," it has been said, "is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved." Our choice as a people is simple: We can either shape our times, or we can let the times shape us. And shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate -- morally, economically, and strategically.

Morally, a failure to respond to massive human catastrophes like that in Somalia, where we can make the difference, will scar our National soul for a generation. When it is in our power to do something that is right and yet we fail to do it, we become less than what we are. America loses the moral authority that has made it special in history.

This does not mean we can right every wrong everywhere in the world - It does mean (defend it!)

Economically, a world of escalating instability and hostile nationalism will disrupt global markets, touch off trade wars and set us on a path of economic decline. American jobs would be lost, our chance to compete would be blocked, and our very well-being would be undermined.

Strategically, abandonment of the world-wide democratic revolution could be disastrous for American security. What was once Yugoslavia offers a view of the future -- if we let our values die in that third of the world that has just been liberated from communism.

In Russia, in Eastern Europe, in Central Asia, the alternative to democracy is authoritarianism: aggressive, xenophobic, and violent. And in a world where weapons of mass destruction are spreading, the collapse of the democratic revolution could pose a direct threat to the safety of every American.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. Let me be blunt: a retreat from American leadership, ^{- American involvement -} would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would not forgive us. ✓

But we need not face such a future. Instead, we can recommit ourselves to the hard work of freedom. This does not mean

running off on reckless, expensive crusades. It does not mean bearing the world's burdens alone. ^{It certainly does not mean putting our military in} But it does mean leadership - ^{we are} - economic, political, and, yes, military -- when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference. ^{mission above successful cooperation cannot be guaranteed}

It seems like forever ago that the people of Germany tore down that Wall. But it has been only three years -- and just over a year since the August coup was defeated by brave Russian democrats. In this brief time, we have embarked on a new course, through uncharted waters. It has been up to America to tend the rudder.

We have begun to define the post-Cold War reality. The old network of alliances, institutions, and regimes is being transformed to meet new challenges -- challenges that must be met

with collective action, led by the United States, to protect and promote our political, economic, and security values.

Our foundation must be the core of the democratic community that won the Cold War. We have begun to adapt America's political, economic, and defense relationships with Europe and Japan to ensure their vitality and strength in this new era. For these will be our primary partners in addressing the next generation of problems and opportunities.

For example, we have begun to transform the Atlantic Alliance, that bulwark against the Soviet threat, into a partnership with a more united Europe -- a partnership ready to meet new security challenges in this age of uncertainty. And a new feature of our Alliance, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, enables NATO to reach out to our former adversaries in the Warsaw Pact.

In the Pacific, we have affirmed the importance of the U.S.-Japan security ties to stability in Asia, but also explored ways to work together as global partners to address common interests -- in economics, development, and regional problems.

Then we have committed ourselves to expanding the democratic community by supporting political and economic freedom in nascent democracies and market economies. And we are sharing this burden with the very nations America helped after World War II.

In Central and Eastern Europe, our Enterprise Funds and other programs have helped develop a new political, economic, and civic

infrastructure for nations crushed for years by Stalin's legacy. Now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in the lands of our former enemies.

military detentions done in democratic war
 In Latin America, our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative has opened up extraordinary possibilities for a new relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. Debt relief, investment, free trade, and environmental protection will water the home-grown efforts throughout Latin America to open up their economies and transform their societies.

We are strengthening the ability of the democratic community to deal with the political landmines the Cold War left over -- aggressive nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil war, and humanitarian crises. We have pledged our support for a more capable UN.

All over the world -- Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola, Cambodia -- we envisioned elections not only as a goal, but as a tool, a device for resolving conflicts and establishing political legitimacy.

In the area of security and arms control, we've stepped up patrol against the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The new Chemical Weapons Convention will ban chemical weapons from the arsenals of all participating states. We've strengthened multilateral export controls on nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile-related technologies. In an act without precedent, a UN inspection team is demolishing Iraq's *ability to possess* weapons of mass destruction. Once implemented, the START Treaty will ban new

nuclear states on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Above all, we have sought to ban nuclear nightmares from the sleep of future generations.

And we underscored one key security principle with a line in the sand: naked aggression against our vital interests will be answered decisively by American resolve, leadership, and might. Our victory in the Persian Gulf War was more than a blow for justice -- it was a needed reminder to other would-be tyrants: *aggression will not stand* If you're going to threaten the freedom of others -- you're going to lose some of your own.

We have been committed to building the basis for sustained international economic growth -- for ourselves and for those nations of what were once the so-called second and third worlds. In particular, we have taken important steps toward the creation of a stronger and freer international trading market.

Our recent breakthrough with the European Community clears the way for an early conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT and a major boost to world economic recovery. This week, Mexico, Canada, and the United States will sign a landmark agreement establishing the largest free trade zone the world has ever seen. And our efforts to forge a new mechanism for Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation confirm America's commitment to continue to be an economic as well as a security power in Asia.

I believe we have taken the first steps toward a world in which democracy is commonplace, in which private enterprise, free trade

and prosperity reach every region. A world in which the rule of law prevails, and in which ethnic hatred has been buried for good.

We must not stumble as we travel toward a world without the brutal violence of Bosnia, the deadly anarchy of Somalia, or the squalor that still haunts much of the Southern Hemisphere. We cannot rest while a handful of renegade regimes aspire to obtain weapons of mass destruction with which to threaten their neighbors, or even our own Nation. There is a difficult distance to go before we are within reach of the democratic peace. But these first steps have determined an important direction.

The challenge ahead is as great as the one we faced at the end of the last great war. But the opportunity is vastly greater. Success will require American vision and resolve. It will require unity of purpose: a commitment on the part of all our people to the proposition that our Nation's destiny lies in the hope of a better world -- a world made better by American leadership.

History is summoning us once again to lead. We must live up to the greatness of our forefathers' ideals, and in so doing secure our grandchildren's futures.

That is the cause that ^{much of} my ~~entire~~ life as a public servant has been dedicated to fulfilling. That is the cause that you and I must now support our new President in pursuing. ✓

14 December 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MC GROARTY
ANDY FERGUSON

FROM: J. BUNTON

SUBJECT: TEXAS A&M WAR HEROES/ETC.

INFO PER MARY JO POWELL AT TA&M:

WW2

GEN. EARL RUDDER [DECEASED]
FORMER PRES. TEXAS A&M
LEADER BATTLE OF NORMANDY [SECOND BATTALION]
RUDDER TOWER [OFFICE BLDG.] ACROSS FROM SPEECH SITE
WIFE MARGARET WILL BE IN AUDIENCE

WWI

JESSE L. EASTWOOD -- 1917 ENLISTED IN NAVAL AIR SERVICE --
TRAINED AT PENSACOLA, 1918 SERVED WITH BRITISH ROYAL FLYING CORPS
AND COMPLETED 16 RAIDS BEHIND GERMAN LINES. WORE MEDAL SHOWING
SERVICE IN THREE FOREIGN COUNTRIES -- KILLED IN AEROPLANE
ACCIDENT IN PANAMA CANAL ZONE. POSTUMOUSLY AWARDED NAVY CROSS.

ALSOOOOOO ----

"SIMPSON DRILL FIELD" ON CAMPUS OF TEXAS A& M, SITE OF FIELD
PARADES IS LINED WITH OAK TREES, ONE PLANTED IN HONOR EACH AGGIE
WHO DIED IN WW I.

THE FIGHTIN' TEXAS AGGIE BAND WILL PLAY FOR POTUS, SOME OF THE
CORPS OF CADETS WILL BE IN AUDIENCE, ALSO STUDENTS ARE TAKING
THEIR FINAL EXAMS...

each The sacrifice symbolized by
towering oaks of Simpson
Drill Field. — Texas A&M's
contribution to duty, honor, country.

TO: Dan M.
FROM: Richard H.
RE: A&M speech

insert in place of para beginning morally on page 7:

Morally, a failure to respond to massive catastrophes like that in Somalia would scar our national soul. There can be no single or simple set of guidelines for foreign policy, but we should consider using military force in those situations where the stakes warrant and where force is likely to be effective.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/12/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 am / MON. / 12-14

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

SUBJECT: _____

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992

| | ACTION | FYI | | ACTION | FYI |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCBRIDE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| BAKER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MOORE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| SCOWCROFT | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | MULLINS | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| DARMAN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | PETERSMEYER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BATES | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | PORTER | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BRADY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | SMITH | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BROMLEY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | TUTWILER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| CALIO | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | * ZOELLICK | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| DEMAREST | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u>MCGROARTY</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| FITZWATER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | GAUGHAN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GRAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | BOSKIN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HOLIDAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HORNER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments on the attached directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, x2930, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 10:00 a.m., MONDAY, DECEMBER 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

called @ 8:30

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12/11/92 12:24

December 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAN MC GROARTY

FROM: ANDREW FERGUSON *af*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS AT TEXAS A & M

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, December 15th at noon you will deliver remarks to an audience of 7,500 students and faculty in the G. Rollie White Coliseum on the campus of Texas A & M.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 25 minutes / teleprompter) focus on your foreign policy accomplishments and America's role in the post-Cold War world.

DRAFT: December 11, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

(Acknowledgments)

In XX days, I will hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in the wartime skies over the Pacific. Our country won that great contest but entered an uneasy peace: the fires of World War II cooled into a longer Cold War, one that froze the world into two opposing camps -- the forces of freedom against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American. Now, by the grit of our people and the grace of our God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. I leave the White House grateful for what together we have achieved, and exhilarated by the promise of what we can yet bring to pass.

This afternoon I would like to share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one. Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: the last best hope of earth.

This is a fact: a truth made indelible by the struggles and agonies of the 20th century. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us. History's lesson is clear: When America, victorious but weary, withdrew from the international stage following World War I, the world crumbled

militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations -- a community whose moral resolve and economic strength contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

In the end, Soviet communism proved no match for free enterprise beyond its borders or the yearning for liberty within them. And the American leadership that undermined the confidence and capacity of the communist regimes became a light for all the peoples of the world.

Steadfast and sure, generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic Alliance held together by enduring bonds among true friends, facing a Warsaw Pact forced together by occupation troops, quisling governments, and, when all else failed, the use of tanks against people.

By the 1980's, Kremlin leaders found that our Alliance would not crack when they threatened America's allies with the infamous SS-20 nuclear missile. Nor would we bend under pressure once we decided to deploy to Europe missiles to protect our Allies from this menace.

The American people showed that they would shoulder whatever defense burden was needed to assure our freedom and protect our

allies and interests. We made use of the splendid technology our free enterprise system has produced. We showed that free people are capable of both sacrifice and strength. Having learned that they could not divide our Alliance, the Soviets eventually were forced to doubt that their command economy could keep them in the race. As the Soviet system stalled and crumbled, so too did the ability of its rulers to deny their people the truth -- about us, and about them.

True, in the end Soviet communism was destroyed by its own dysfunctional dialectic. But the Soviet Union did not simply lose the Cold War; the Western democracies won it. I say this not to gloat but to make a point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle -- faith, strength, unity, and above all American leadership -- are those we must call upon now to win the peace.

With Soviet communism in its death throes in recent years, the potential for cataclysm was never greater, the demand for American leadership was never more compelling:

- As the peoples of Eastern Europe made their bold but peaceful move for freedom, they turned to America. And we did not turn away.
- When our German friends took their hammers to tear down that wall, they looked to America for solidarity. And we did not look away.

-- When the people of Russia blocked the tanks that tried to roll back the tide of history, Boris Yeltsin asked where we stood. America did not walk away. America answered, for the world to hear, "We stand with you."

The free peoples of the world watched in awe as the Soviet Union collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place -- at whoever might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. We acted decisively to help the new leaders reduce their arsenals.

Here, then, is the remarkable fact that history will record: the end of a titantic clash of political systems, the collapse of the most heavily armed empire in history, took place without a shot being fired. That should be a source of pride for every American.

From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the Cold War, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable. No one person deserves credit for this; America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for -- and are made of.

Yes, we answered the call and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to create a democratic peace -- not for half a world, as before, but for people the world over. The end of the

Cold War has placed in our hands the chance to change history: to see the principles of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law -- American principles -- embraced and enjoyed by the entire human race.

This global vision can energize America as we approach the millennium. It embodies our country's tradition of idealism, which has made us unique among nations, and uniquely successful. But more than that: the advance of democratic ideals reflects a hard-nosed sense of American self-interest. For if the long struggle now concluded has taught us anything, it is this: Democracies do not commit aggression. Democracies do not sponsor terrorism. Democracies do not threaten humanity with weapons of mass destruction. Likewise, the global spread of free markets, through trade, investment, and growth, will sustain the expansion of American prosperity. By helping others, in short, we help ourselves.

Some will dismiss this vision as no more than a dream. I ask them to consider the last four years, when a dozen dreams were made real. The Berlin Wall demolished; the captive nations set free; Russia democratic; whole classes of nuclear weapons eliminated, the rest vastly reduced; the United Nations turning back a tyrant in the Persian Gulf; Israel and each of its Arab neighbors talking peace in a region that has known so much war.

Each of these was once a dream. Today they are concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power, and

American moral force. There were obstacles and set-backs; they were overcome.

And surely serious obstacles and set-backs will confront us again. We face some already. Violence, poverty, and tribal and religious hatreds will be powerful adversaries. Overcoming them will take time and tenacity, courage and resolve; but they will be overcome. For no society, no continent, should be disqualified from our ideals. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever. And it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by strengthening our international institutions, America does not have to go it alone.

Yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. The disappearance of the Soviet challenge, they say, means America can withdraw from international responsibilities. Others assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy, that we have done our part and now it is someone else's turn. We are warned against stepping up to the troubles that abound in today's world: clan warfare and mass starvation in Somalia; savage violence in Bosnia; instability in Russia; the alarming growth of virulent nationalism throughout Europe.

And it is true: These problems -- some frozen by the Cold War, others held in check by communist repression -- seem to have ignited all at once, taxing the world's ability to respond. But let us be clear: The alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less; not the flourishing of

American principles but their isolation in a world actively hostile to them. "Destiny," it has been said, "is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved." Our choice as a people is simple: We can either shape our times, or we can let the times shape us. And shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate -- morally, economically, and strategically.

Morally, a failure to respond to massive human catastrophes like that in Somalia, where we can make the difference, will scar our National soul for a generation. When it is in our power to do something that is right and yet we fail to do it, we become less than what we are. America loses the moral authority that has made it special in history.

Economically, a world of escalating instability and hostile nationalism will disrupt global markets, touch off trade wars and set us on a path of economic decline. American jobs would be lost, our chance to compete would be blocked, and our very well-being would be undermined.

Strategically, abandonment of the world-wide democratic revolution could be disastrous for American security. What was once Yugoslavia offers a view of the future -- if we let our values die in that third of the world that has just been liberated from communism.

In Russia, in Eastern Europe, in Central Asia, the alternative to democracy is authoritarianism: aggressive, xenophobic, and violent. And in a world where weapons of mass destruction are spreading, the collapse of the democratic revolution could pose a direct threat to the safety of every American.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. Let me be blunt: a retreat from American leadership would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would not forgive us.

But we need not face such a future. Instead, we can recommit ourselves to the hard work of freedom. This does not mean running off on reckless, expensive crusades. It does not mean bearing the world's burdens alone. But it does mean leadership -- economic, political, and, yes, military -- when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference.

It seems like forever ago that the people of Germany tore down that Wall. But it has been only three years -- and just over a year since the August coup was defeated by brave Russian democrats. In this brief time, we have embarked on a new course, through uncharted waters. It has been up to America to tend the rudder.

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infrastructure for nations crushed for years by Stalin's legacy. Now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in the lands of our former enemies.

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nuclear states on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Above all, we have sought to ban nuclear nightmares from the sleep of future generations.

And we underscored one key security principle with a line in the sand: naked aggression against our vital interests will be answered decisively by American resolve, leadership, and might. Our victory in the Persian Gulf War was more than a blow for justice -- it was a needed reminder to other would-be tyrants: If you're going to threaten the freedom of others -- you're going to lose some of your own.

We have been committed to building the basis for sustained international economic growth -- for ourselves and for those nations of what were once the so-called second and third worlds. In particular, we have taken important steps toward the creation of a stronger and freer international trading market.

Our recent breakthrough with the European Community clears the way for an early conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT and a major boost to world economic recovery. This week, Mexico, Canada, and the United States will sign a landmark agreement establishing the largest free trade zone the world has ever seen. And our efforts to forge a new mechanism for Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation confirm America's commitment to continue to be an economic as well as a security power in Asia.

I believe we have taken the first steps toward a world in which democracy is commonplace, in which private enterprise, free trade

and prosperity reach every region. A world in which the rule of law prevails, and in which ethnic hatred has been buried for good.

We must not stumble as we travel toward a world without the brutal violence of Bosnia, the deadly anarchy of Somalia, or the squalor that still haunts much of the Southern Hemisphere. We cannot rest while a handful of renegade regimes aspire to obtain weapons of mass destruction with which to threaten their neighbors, or even our own Nation. There is a difficult distance to go before we are within reach of the democratic peace. But these first steps have determined an important direction.

The challenge ahead is as great as the one we faced at the end of the last great war. But the opportunity is vastly greater. Success will require American vision and resolve. It will require unity of purpose: a commitment on the part of all our people to the proposition that our Nation's destiny lies in the hope of a better world -- a world made better by American leadership.

History is summoning us once again to lead. We must live up to the greatness of our forefathers' ideals, and in so doing secure our grandchildren's futures.

That is the cause that my entire life as a public servant has been dedicated to fulfilling. That is the cause that you and I must now support our new President in pursuing.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of
America.

DRAFT: December 14, 1992,
7:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

Good afternoon, everyone. Dr. Bill Mobley, thank you for that kind introduction. Congressman Joe Barton. Commissioner Rick Perry. Representative Steve Ogden. Fred McClure. Ross Margraves. Members of the Board of Regents. Members of the Library committee. Thanks to my hosts, the Memorial Student Center Political Forum. And my heartiest thanks to the Corps of Cadets and the Fightin' Texas Aggies band.

In 36 days, I will hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in the wartime skies over the Pacific. Our country won that great contest but entered an uneasy peace: the fires of World War II cooled into a longer Cold War, one that froze the world into two opposing camps: on the one side, America and its allies -- the forces of freedom against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American.

Three years ago, when I addressed the graduating class of Texas A & M, I spoke of the need to move "beyond containment." And I said, "We seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations.... Ultimately, our objective is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order." Was this aim too ambitious? Not for the American people.

Today, by the grit of our people and the grace of God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. I leave the White

House grateful for what we have achieved together, and exhilarated by the promise of what can come to pass.

This afternoon I would like to share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one. Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: the last best hope of man on earth.

This is a fact -- a truth made indelible by the struggles and agonies of the 20th century -- and in the sacrifice symbolized by each towering oak on Simpson Drill Field here at Texas A & M. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us.

History's lesson is clear: When a war-weary America withdrew from the international stage following World War I, the world spawned militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations -- a community whose strength, perseverance, patience, and unity of purpose contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

In the end, Soviet communism proved no match for free enterprise beyond its borders or the yearning for liberty within them. And the American leadership that undermined the confidence and

capacity of the communist regimes became a beacon for all the peoples of the world.

Steadfast and sure, generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic Alliance held together by bonds of principle and love of liberty -- facing a Warsaw Pact lashed together by occupation troops, quisling governments, and, when all else failed, the use of tanks against people.

By the 1980's, Kremlin leaders found that our Alliance would not crack when they threatened America's allies with the infamous SS-20 nuclear missile. Nor did the Alliance shrink from the deployment of countervailing missiles to defend against this menace.

In the Pacific, too, we built a new alliance with Japan, defended Korea, and called hundreds of thousands of Americans to sacrifice in the jungles of Southeast Asia.

The American people demonstrated that they would shoulder whatever defense burden, make whatever sacrifice was needed to assure our freedom and protect our allies and interests. We made use of the superb technology our free enterprise system has produced. Having learned that they could not divide our Alliance, the Soviets eventually were forced to realize that their command economy simply could not compete. As the Soviet

system stalled and crumbled, so too did the ability of its rulers to deny their people the truth -- about us, and about them.

In the end Soviet communism was destroyed by its own internal contradictions. New leaders with new vision faced the hard truths their predecessors had long denied. Glasnost and perestroika may have been Russian words -- but the concepts at their core were universal.

The Soviet Union did not simply lose the Cold War; the Western democracies won it. I say this not to gloat but to make a point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle -- faith, strength, unity, and above all American leadership -- are those we must call upon now to win the peace.

In recent years, with the Soviet empire in its death throes, the potential for crisis and conflict was never greater, the demand for American leadership never more compelling:

-- As the peoples of Eastern Europe made their bold move for freedom, we urged them along a peaceful path to liberation. They turned to America -- and we did not turn away.

-- When our German friends took their hammers to tear down that wall, we encouraged a united Germany safely within the NATO Alliance. They looked to America -- and we did not look away.

-- When the people of Russia blocked the tanks that tried to roll back the tide of history, America did not walk away.

[[I can remember speaking to Boris Yeltsin at that terrible moment of crisis. At times the static on the telephone made it almost impossible to hear him. But there was no mistaking what he wanted to know. He asked where the United States of America stood. And America answered, for all the world to hear, "We stand with you."]]

President Yeltsin hasn't forgotten. On his visit to the White House this June, he said -- and I quote -- the United States "was the first ... to understand the true scope and meaning of the victory of the Russian people on August 19, 1991."]]

The free peoples of the world watched in awe as the Soviet Union collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place -- wondering who might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. We acted decisively to help the new leaders reduce their arsenals - - and gain firm control of those that remained.

Here, then, is the remarkable fact that history will record: the end of a titanic clash of political systems, the collapse of the most heavily armed empire in history, took place without a shot being fired. That should be a source of pride for every American.

From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the Cold War, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable. No one person deserves credit for this; America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for -- and what we are made of.

Yes, we answered the call and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to win the democratic peace -- not for half a world, as before, but for people the world over. The end of the Cold War has placed in our hands a unique opportunity to see the principles for which America has stood for two centuries -- democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law -- spread more widely than ever before in human history.

For the first time, turning this global vision into a new and better world is a realistic possibility. It is a hope that embodies our country's tradition of idealism, which has made us unique among nations, and uniquely successful. And our vision is not mere Utopianism: the advance of democratic ideals reflects a hard-nosed sense of American self-interest. For certain truths have now become evident: Governments responsive to the will of the people are not likely to commit aggression -- to sponsor terrorism -- or to threaten humanity with weapons of mass destruction. Likewise, the global spread of free markets, by encouraging trade, investment, and growth, will sustain the

expansion of American prosperity. In short, by helping others, we help ourselves.

Some will dismiss this vision as no more than a dream. I ask them to consider the last four years, when a dozen dreams were made real. The Berlin Wall demolished and Germany united; the captive nations set free; Russia democratic; whole classes of nuclear weapons eliminated, the rest vastly reduced; many nations united in our historic UN coalition to turn back a tyrant in the Persian Gulf; Israel and its Arab neighbors talking peace -- face to face -- in a region that has known so much war.

Each of these once seemed a dream. Today they are concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power, and American moral force. Without doubt, there will be serious obstacles and set-backs ahead. We face some already. Violence, poverty, ethnic and religious hatreds will be powerful adversaries. Overcoming them will take time and tenacity, courage and commitment; but they can be overcome.

Look to Europe -- where nations, after centuries of war, transformed themselves into a peaceful, progressive community. No society, no continent, should be disqualified from sharing the ideals of human liberty. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever. And it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by invigorating our international institutions, America does not have stand alone.

Yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. We have carried the burden too long, they say, and the disappearance of the Soviet challenge means America can withdraw from international responsibilities. Others assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy, that we have done our part and now it is someone else's turn. We are warned against entangling ourselves in the troubles that abound in today's world. To name only a few: clan warfare and mass starvation in Somalia; savage violence in Bosnia; instability in the former Soviet Union; the alarming growth of virulent nationalism throughout Europe.

And it is true: These problems -- some frozen by the Cold War, others held in check by communist repression -- seem to have ignited all at once, taxing the world's ability to respond. But let us be clear: The alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less; not the flourishing of American principles but their isolation in a world actively hostile to them.

"Destiny," it has been said, "is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved." We can never safely assume that our future will be an improvement over the past. Our choice as a people is simple: We can either shape our times, or we can let the times shape us. And shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate -- morally, economically, and strategically.

Morally, a failure to respond to massive human catastrophes like that in Somalia would scar our national soul. There can be no single or simple set of guidelines for foreign policy -- but we should consider using military force in those situations where the stakes warrant, and where force is likely to be effective.

Economically, a world of escalating instability and hostile nationalism will disrupt global markets, ignite trade wars and set us on a path of economic decline. American jobs would be lost, our chance to compete would be blocked, and our very well-being would be undermined.

Strategically, abandonment of the world-wide democratic revolution could be disastrous for American security. In Russia, in Eastern Europe, in Central Asia, the alternative to democracy is authoritarianism: repressive regimes that can be xenophobic, aggressive, and violent. And in a world where weapons of mass destruction are spreading, the collapse of the democratic revolution could pose a direct threat to the safety of every American.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. Let me be blunt: a retreat from American leadership -- from American involvement -- would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would pay dearly.

But we can influence the future. We can rededicate ourselves to the hard work of freedom. This does not mean running off on reckless, expensive crusades. It does not mean bearing the

world's burdens alone. But it does mean leadership -- economic, political, and, yes, military -- when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference. When we place our young men and women of the military in harm's way, we must be able to assure them -- and their families -- that their mission is defined, and that its success can be achieved.

It seems like ages ago that the people of Germany tore down that Wall. But it has been only three years -- and just over a year since the August coup was defeated by brave Russian democrats. In this brief time, we have embarked on a new course, through uncharted waters. The United States and its friends -- old and new -- have begun to define the post-Cold War reality. We are already transforming the old network of alliances, institutions, and regimes to face the future. Those challenges must be met with collective action, led by the United States, to protect and promote our political, economic, and security values.

Our foundation must be the democratic community that won the Cold War. We have begun to adapt America's political, economic, and defense relationships with Europe and Japan to ensure their vitality and strength in this new era. For these will be our primary partners in addressing the next generation of problems and opportunities.

For example, we have begun to transform the Atlantic Alliance, that bulwark against the Soviet threat, into a partnership with a more united Europe -- a partnership primed to meet new security challenges in this age of uncertainty. And a new feature of our

Alliance, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, enables NATO to reach out to our former adversaries in the Warsaw Pact.

In the Pacific, we have affirmed the importance of the U.S.-Japan security ties to stability in Asia. But we are also exploring ways to work together as global partners to address common interests -- in economics, development, and regional problems.

Then we have committed ourselves to expanding the democratic community by supporting political and economic freedom in nascent democracies and market economies. And we are sharing this burden with the very nations America helped after World War II.

In Central and Eastern Europe, our Enterprise Funds and other programs have helped develop a new political, economic, and civic infrastructure for nations long oppressed by Stalin's legacy. Now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in the lands of our former enemies.

In Latin America, the day of the dictator has given way to the dawn of democracy. This very day, Vice President Quayle is taking part in a ceremony in El Salvador that caps the long effort to end the killing and give the people there the opportunity to live in peace. Throughout the region, economic initiatives are helping a new generation of leaders reform their societies. The Brady Plan and our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative have opened up extraordinary possibilities for a new relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. Investment, free

trade, debt relief, and environmental protection will nurture the home-grown reforms throughout Latin America.

We are strengthening the ability of the democratic community to deal with the political landmines that the Cold War has exposed -- aggressive nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil war, and humanitarian crises. The United States has led the world in supporting a United Nations more capable of dealing with these crises.

All over the world -- Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola, Cambodia -- we have promoted elections not only as a goal, but as a tool, a device for resolving conflicts and establishing political legitimacy.

In the area of security and arms control, we've stepped up patrol against the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The new Chemical Weapons Convention will ban chemical weapons from the arsenals of all participating states. We've strengthened multilateral export controls on nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile-related technologies. In a mission without precedent, a UN inspection team is demolishing Iraq's unconventional weapons capability. Once implemented, the agreements we've negotiated will ban new nuclear states on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Above all, we have sought to erase nuclear nightmares from the sleep of future generations.

And we underscored one key security principle with a line in the sand: naked aggression against our vital interests will be

answered decisively by American resolve, leadership, and might. Our victory in the Persian Gulf War was more than a blow for justice -- it was a reminder to other would-be aggressors that they will pay a price for their outlaw acts.

We have been committed to building the basis for sustained international economic growth -- for ourselves and for those nations of what were once the so-called second and third worlds. The heart of our efforts has been the creation of a stronger and freer international trading market.

Our recent breakthrough with the European Community clears the way for an early conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT and a major boost to world economic recovery. This week, Mexico, Canada, and the United States will sign a landmark agreement establishing the largest free trade zone the world has ever seen. And our efforts to forge a new mechanism for Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation confirm America's commitment to remain an economic and security power in Asia.

I believe we have taken important steps toward a world in which democracy is the norm, in which private enterprise, free trade, and prosperity enrich every region -- a world in which the rule of law prevails, and in which ethnic hatred has been buried for good.

We must not stumble as we travel toward a world without the brutal violence of Bosnia, the deadly anarchy of Somalia, or the squalor that still haunts much of the Southern Hemisphere. We

cannot rest while a handful of renegade regimes aspire to obtain weapons of mass destruction with which to threaten their neighbors, or even America. There is much to be done before we are within reach of the democratic peace. But these first steps have taken us in the right direction.

The challenge ahead is as great as the one we faced at the end of the last great war. But the opportunity is vastly greater. Success will require American vision and resolve -- an America secure in its military, moral and economic strength. Success will require unity of purpose: a commitment on the part of all our people to the proposition that our Nation's destiny lies in the hope of a better world -- a new world made better, with our friends and allies, by American leadership.

History is summoning us once again to lead. Proud of its past, America must once again look forward. We must live up to the greatness of our forefathers' ideals, and in doing so secure our grandchildren's futures.

That is the cause that much of my public life has been dedicated to serving. That is the cause that you and I must now support our new President in pursuing.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/12/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 am / MON. / 12-14

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

SUBJECT: _____
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992

| | ACTION | FYI | | ACTION | FYI |
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| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCBRIDE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| BAKER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MOORE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
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| DEMAREST | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u>MCGROARTY</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| FITZWATER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <u>GAUGHAN</u> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| HORNER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments on the attached directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, x2930, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 10:00 a.m., MONDAY, DECEMBER 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE: No comment

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12:24

December 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAN MC GROARTY

FROM: ANDREW FERGUSON *af*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS AT TEXAS A & M

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, December 15th at noon you will deliver remarks to an audience of 7,500 students and faculty in the G. Rollie White Coliseum on the campus of Texas A & M.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 25 minutes / teleprompter) focus on your foreign policy accomplishments and America's role in the post-Cold War world.

DRAFT: December 11, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

(Acknowledgments)

In XX days, I will hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in the wartime skies over the Pacific. Our country won that great contest but entered an uneasy peace: the fires of World War II cooled into a longer Cold War, one that froze the world into two opposing camps -- the forces of freedom against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American. Now, by the grit of our people and the grace of our God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. I leave the White House grateful for what together we have achieved, and exhilarated by the promise of what we can yet bring to pass.

This afternoon I would like to share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one. Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: the last best hope of earth.

This is a fact: a truth made indelible by the struggles and agonies of the 20th century. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us. History's lesson is clear: When America, victorious but weary, withdrew from the international stage following World War I, the world spawned

militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations -- a community whose moral resolve and economic strength contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

In the end, Soviet communism proved no match for free enterprise beyond its borders or the yearning for liberty within them. And the American leadership that undermined the confidence and capacity of the communist regimes became a light for all the peoples of the world.

Steadfast and sure, generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic Alliance held together by enduring bonds among true friends, facing a Warsaw Pact forced together by occupation troops, quisling governments, and, when all else failed, the use of tanks against people.

By the 1980's, Kremlin leaders found that our Alliance would not crack when they threatened America's allies with the infamous SS-20 nuclear missile. Nor would we bend under pressure once we decided to deploy to Europe missiles to protect our Allies from this menace.

The American people showed that they would shoulder whatever defense burden was needed to assure our freedom and protect our

allies and interests. We made use of the splendid technology our free enterprise system has produced. We showed that free people are capable of both sacrifice and strength. Having learned that they could not divide our Alliance, the Soviets eventually were forced to doubt that their command economy could keep them in the race. As the Soviet system stalled and crumbled, so too did the ability of its rulers to deny their people the truth -- about us, and about them.

True, in the end Soviet communism was destroyed by its own dysfunctional dialectic. But the Soviet Union did not simply lose the Cold War; the Western democracies won it. I say this not to gloat but to make a point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle -- faith, strength, unity, and above all American leadership -- are those we must call upon now to win the peace.

With Soviet communism in its death throes in recent years, the potential for cataclysm was never greater, the demand for American leadership was never more compelling:

- As the peoples of Eastern Europe made their bold but peaceful move for freedom, they turned to America. And we did not turn away.

- When our German friends took their hammers to tear down that wall, they looked to America for solidarity. And we did not look away.

-- When the people of Russia blocked the tanks that tried to roll back the tide of history, Boris Yeltsin asked where we stood. America did not walk away. America answered, for the world to hear, "We stand with you."

The free peoples of the world watched in awe as the Soviet Union collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place -- at whoever might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. We acted decisively to help the new leaders reduce their arsenals.

Here, then, is the remarkable fact that history will record: the end of a titantic clash of political systems, the collapse of the most heavily armed empire in history, took place without a shot being fired. That should be a source of pride for every American.

From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the Cold War, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable. No one person deserves credit for this; America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for -- and are made of.

Yes, we answered the call and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to create a democratic peace -- not for half a world, as before, but for people the world over. The end of the

Cold War has placed in our hands the chance to change history: to see the principles of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law -- American principles -- embraced and enjoyed by the entire human race.

This global vision can energize America as we approach the millennium. It embodies our country's tradition of idealism, which has made us unique among nations, and uniquely successful. But more than that: the advance of democratic ideals reflects a hard-nosed sense of American self-interest. For if the long struggle now concluded has taught us anything, it is this: Democracies do not commit aggression. Democracies do not sponsor terrorism. Democracies do not threaten humanity with weapons of mass destruction. Likewise, the global spread of free markets, through trade, investment, and growth, will sustain the expansion of American prosperity. By helping others, in short, we help ourselves.

Some will dismiss this vision as no more than a dream. I ask them to consider the last four years, when a dozen dreams were made real. The Berlin Wall demolished; the captive nations set free; Russia democratic; whole classes of nuclear weapons eliminated, the rest vastly reduced; the United Nations turning back a tyrant in the Persian Gulf; Israel and each of its Arab neighbors talking peace in a region that has known so much war.

Each of these was once a dream. Today they are concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power, and

American moral force. There were obstacles and set-backs; they were overcome.

And surely serious obstacles and set-backs will confront us again. We face some already. Violence, poverty, and tribal and religious hatreds will be powerful adversaries. Overcoming them will take time and tenacity, courage and resolve; but they will be overcome. For no society, no continent, should be disqualified from our ideals. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever. And it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by strengthening our international institutions, America does not have to go it alone.

Yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. The disappearance of the Soviet challenge, they say, means America can withdraw from international responsibilities. Others assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy, that we have done our part and now it is someone else's turn. We are warned against stepping up to the troubles that abound in today's world: clan warfare and mass starvation in Somalia; savage violence in Bosnia; instability in Russia; the alarming growth of virulent nationalism throughout Europe.

And it is true: These problems -- some frozen by the Cold War, others held in check by communist repression -- seem to have ignited all at once, taxing the world's ability to respond. But let us be clear: The alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less; not the flourishing of

American principles but their isolation in a world actively hostile to them. "Destiny," it has been said, "is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved." Our choice as a people is simple: We can either shape our times, or we can let the times shape us. And shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate -- morally, economically, and strategically.

Morally, a failure to respond to massive human catastrophes like that in Somalia, where we can make the difference, will scar our National soul for a generation. When it is in our power to do something that is right and yet we fail to do it, we become less than what we are. America loses the moral authority that has made it special in history.

Economically, a world of escalating instability and hostile nationalism will disrupt global markets, touch off trade wars and set us on a path of economic decline. American jobs would be lost, our chance to compete would be blocked, and our very well-being would be undermined.

Strategically, abandonment of the world-wide democratic revolution could be disastrous for American security. What was once Yugoslavia offers a view of the future -- if we let our values die in that third of the world that has just been liberated from communism.

In Russia, in Eastern Europe, in Central Asia, the alternative to democracy is authoritarianism: aggressive, xenophobic, and violent. And in a world where weapons of mass destruction are spreading, the collapse of the democratic revolution could pose a direct threat to the safety of every American.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. Let me be blunt: a retreat from American leadership would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would not forgive us.

But we need not face such a future. Instead, we can recommit ourselves to the hard work of freedom. This does not mean running off on reckless, expensive crusades. It does not mean bearing the world's burdens alone. But it does mean leadership -- economic, political, and, yes, military -- when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference.

It seems like forever ago that the people of Germany tore down that Wall. But it has been only three years -- and just over a year since the August coup was defeated by brave Russian democrats. In this brief time, we have embarked on a new course, through uncharted waters. It has been up to America to tend the rudder.

We have begun to define the post-Cold War reality. The old network of alliances, institutions, and regimes is being transformed to meet new challenges -- challenges that must be met

with collective action, led by the United States, to protect and promote our political, economic, and security values.

Our foundation must be the core of the democratic community that won the Cold War. We have begun to adapt America's political, economic, and defense relationships with Europe and Japan to ensure their vitality and strength in this new era. For these will be our primary partners in addressing the next generation of problems and opportunities.

For example, we have begun to transform the Atlantic Alliance, that bulwark against the Soviet threat, into a partnership with a more united Europe -- a partnership ready to meet new security challenges in this age of uncertainty. And a new feature of our Alliance, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, enables NATO to reach out to our former adversaries in the Warsaw Pact.

In the Pacific, we have affirmed the importance of the U.S.-Japan security ties to stability in Asia, but also explored ways to work together as global partners to address common interests -- in economics, development, and regional problems.

Then we have committed ourselves to expanding the democratic community by supporting political and economic freedom in nascent democracies and market economies. And we are sharing this burden with the very nations America helped after World War II.

In Central and Eastern Europe, our Enterprise Funds and other programs have helped develop a new political, economic, and civic

infrastructure for nations crushed for years by Stalin's legacy. Now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in the lands of our former enemies.

In Latin America, our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative has opened up extraordinary possibilities for a new relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. Debt relief, investment, free trade, and environmental protection will water the home-grown efforts throughout Latin America to open up their economies and transform their societies.

We are strengthening the ability of the democratic community to deal with the political landmines the Cold War left over -- aggressive nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil war, and humanitarian crises. We have pledged our support for a more capable UN.

All over the world -- Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola, Cambodia -- we envisioned elections not only as a goal, but as a tool, a device for resolving conflicts and establishing political legitimacy.

In the area of security and arms control, we've stepped up patrol against the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The new Chemical Weapons Convention will ban chemical weapons from the arsenals of all participating states. We've strengthened multilateral export controls on nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile-related technologies. In an act without precedent, a UN inspection team is demolishing Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Once implemented, the START Treaty will ban new

nuclear states on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Above all, we have sought to ban nuclear nightmares from the sleep of future generations.

And we underscored one key security principle with a line in the sand: naked aggression against our vital interests will be answered decisively by American resolve, leadership, and might. Our victory in the Persian Gulf War was more than a blow for justice -- it was a needed reminder to other would-be tyrants: If you're going to threaten the freedom of others -- you're going to lose some of your own.

We have been committed to building the basis for sustained international economic growth -- for ourselves and for those nations of what were once the so-called second and third worlds. In particular, we have taken important steps toward the creation of a stronger and freer international trading market.

Our recent breakthrough with the European Community clears the way for an early conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT and a major boost to world economic recovery. This week, Mexico, Canada, and the United States will sign a landmark agreement establishing the largest free trade zone the world has ever seen. And our efforts to forge a new mechanism for Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation confirm America's commitment to continue to be an economic as well as a security power in Asia.

I believe we have taken the first steps toward a world in which democracy is commonplace, in which private enterprise, free trade

and prosperity reach every region. A world in which the rule of law prevails, and in which ethnic hatred has been buried for good.

We must not stumble as we travel toward a world without the brutal violence of Bosnia, the deadly anarchy of Somalia, or the squalor that still haunts much of the Southern Hemisphere. We cannot rest while a handful of renegade regimes aspire to obtain weapons of mass destruction with which to threaten their neighbors, or even our own Nation. There is a difficult distance to go before we are within reach of the democratic peace. But these first steps have determined an important direction.

The challenge ahead is as great as the one we faced at the end of the last great war. But the opportunity is vastly greater. Success will require American vision and resolve. It will require unity of purpose: a commitment on the part of all our people to the proposition that our Nation's destiny lies in the hope of a better world -- a world made better by American leadership.

History is summoning us once again to lead. We must live up to the greatness of our forefathers' ideals, and in so doing secure our grandchildren's futures.

That is the cause that my entire life as a public servant has been dedicated to fulfilling. That is the cause that you and I must now support our new President in pursuing.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of
America.

Document No. 367275

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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11 AM*

DATE: 12/12/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 am / MON. / 12-14

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

SUBJECT: _____
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992

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| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCBRIDE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
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REMARKS:

Please provide your comments on the attached directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, x2930, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 10:00 a.m., MONDAY, DECEMBER 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12:24

December 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAN MC GROARTY
FROM: ANDREW FERGUSON *af*
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS AT TEXAS A & M

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, December 15th at noon you will deliver remarks to an audience of 7,500 students and faculty in the G. Rollie White Coliseum on the campus of Texas A & M.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 25 minutes / teleprompter) focus on your foreign policy accomplishments and America's role in the post-Cold War world.

*Reference to
Texas A & M*

DRAFT: December 11, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

(Acknowledgments)

In XX days, I will hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in the wartime skies over the Pacific. Our country won that great contest but entered an uneasy peace: the fires of World War II cooled into a longer Cold War, one that froze the world into two opposing camps -- the forces of freedom against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American. Now, by the grit of our people and the grace of our God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. I leave the White House grateful for what together we have achieved, and exhilarated by the promise of what we can yet bring to pass.

This afternoon I would like to share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one. Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: the last best hope of earth.

This is a fact: a truth made indelible by the struggles and agonies of the 20th century. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us. History's lesson is clear: when America, victorious but weary, withdrew from the

2

militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations -- a community whose moral resolve and economic strength contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

*add -
Alliance*

In the end, Soviet communism proved no match for free enterprise beyond its borders or the yearning for liberty within them. And the American leadership that undermined the confidence and capacity of the communist regimes became a light for all the peoples of the world.

Steadfast and sure, generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic Alliance held together by enduring bonds among true friends, facing a Warsaw Pact forced together by occupation troops, quisling governments, and, when all else failed, the use of tanks against people.

By the 1980's, Kremlin leaders found that our Alliance would not crack when they threatened America's allies with the infamous SS-20 nuclear missile. Nor would we bend under pressure once we decided to deploy to Europe missiles to protect our Allies from this menace.

The American people showed that they would shoulder whatever defense burden was needed to assure our freedom and protect our

is and interests. We made use of the splendid technology our enterprise system has produced. We showed that free people capable of both sacrifice and strength. Having learned that could not divide our Alliance, the Soviets eventually were led to doubt that their command economy could keep them in the . As the Soviet system stalled and crumbled, so too did the ability of its rulers to deny their people the truth -- about us, about them.

in the end Soviet communism was destroyed by its own functional dialectic. But the Soviet Union did not simply end the Cold War; the Western democracies won it. I say this not to gloat but to make a point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle -- faith, strength, unity, and above all American leadership -- are those we must call upon now to win peace.

In Soviet communism in its death throes in recent years, the potential for cataclysm was never greater, the demand for American leadership was never more compelling:

As the peoples of Eastern Europe made their bold but peaceful move for freedom, they turned to America. And we did not turn away.

When our German friends took their hammers to tear down that wall, they looked to America for solidarity. And we did not look away.



*Herb's
opinion of
what
we won*

*+ that victory
New leaders
of new
vision.*

*Credit belongs
to forward-
looking
Soviets.*

*who embrace some
of the principles + values...*

see Gen S.

4

-- When the people of Russia blocked the tanks that tried to roll back the tide of history, Boris Yeltsin asked where we stood. ^{*} America did not walk away. America answered, for the world to hear, "We stand with you."

History will note
Yeltsin gives us credit as being first to stand w/ him.
 The free peoples of the world watched in awe as the Soviet Union collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place -- at whoever might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. We acted decisively to help the new leaders reduce their arsenals.

Here, then, is the remarkable fact that history will record: the end of a titanic clash of political systems, the collapse of the most heavily armed empire in history, took place without a shot being fired. That should be a source of pride for every American.

From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the Cold War, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable. No one person deserves credit for this; America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for -- and are made of.

Yes, we answered the call and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to create a democratic peace -- not for half a world, as before, but for people the world over. The end of the

5

Cold War has placed in our hands the chance to change history: to see the principles of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law -- American principles -- embraced and enjoyed by the entire human race.

This global vision can energize America as we approach the millennium. It embodies our country's tradition of idealism, which has made us unique among nations, and uniquely successful. But more than that: the advance of democratic ideals reflects a hard-nosed sense of American self-interest. For if the long struggle now concluded has taught us anything, it is this: Democracies do not commit aggression. Democracies do not sponsor terrorism. Democracies do not threaten humanity with weapons of mass destruction. Likewise, the global spread of free markets, through trade, investment, and growth, will sustain the expansion of American prosperity. By helping others, in short, we help ourselves.

Some will dismiss this vision as no more than a dream. I ask them to consider the last four years, when a dozen dreams were made real. The Berlin Wall demolished; the captive nations set free; Russia democratic; whole classes of nuclear weapons eliminated, the rest vastly reduced; the ^{many Nations, united} United Nations turning back a tyrant in the Persian Gulf; Israel and ~~each of~~ its Arab neighbors talking peace in a region that has known so much war.

Each of these was once a dream. Today they are concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power, and

Sec. Baker

see POTUS.

6

American moral force. There were obstacles and set-backs; they were overcome.

And surely serious obstacles and set-backs will confront us again. We face some already. Violence, poverty, and tribal and religious hatreds will be powerful adversaries. Overcoming them will take time and tenacity, courage and resolve; but they will be overcome. For no society, no continent, should be disqualified from *Democratic* our ideals. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever. And it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by strengthening our international institutions, America does not have to go it alone.

Yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. The disappearance of the Soviet challenge, they say, means America can withdraw from international responsibilities. Others assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy, that we have done our part and now it is someone else's turn. We are warned against stepping up to the troubles that abound in today's world: clan warfare and mass starvation in Somalia; savage violence in Bosnia; instability in Russia; the alarming growth of virulent nationalism throughout Europe.

And it is true: These problems -- some frozen by the Cold War, others held in check by communist repression -- seem to have ignited all at once, taxing the world's ability to respond. But let us be clear: The alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less; not the flourishing of

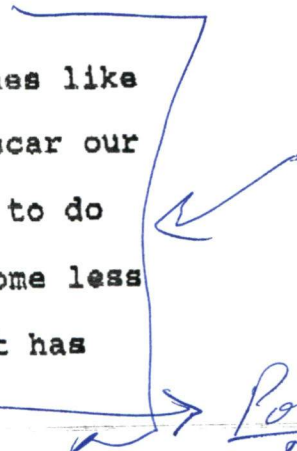
*See
Stewart*

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 ade it special in history.

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 et us on a path of economic decline. American jobs would be
 ost, our chance to compete would be blocked, and our very well-
 eing would be undermined.

strategically, abandonment of the world-wide democratic
 evolution could be disastrous for American security. What was
 once Yugoslavia offers a view of the future -- if we let our
 values die in that third of the world that has just been
 liberated from communism.



*Populists
 Does not
 mean we
 can right
 any wrong...*



WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/12/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 am / MON. / 12-14

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

SUBJECT: _____

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992

| | ACTION | FYI | | ACTION | FYI |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCBRIDE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| BAKER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MOORE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| SCOWCROFT | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | MULLINS | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| DARMAN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | PETERSMEYER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BATES | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | PORTER | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BRADY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | SMITH | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BROMLEY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | TUTWILER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| CALIO | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ZOELLICK | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| DEMAREST | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | MCGROARTY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| FITZWATER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | GAUGHAN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GRAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | BOSKIN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HOLIDAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HORNER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments on the attached directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, x2930, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 10:00 a.m., MONDAY, DECEMBER 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

TO: DAN MCGROARTY

The NSC ~~concerns~~ *staff provides some suggested* changes as noted.

cc: Phillip Brady

for Brent Scowcroft

General + I have already submitted other comments directly

December 14, 1992

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

This does not constitute NSC copy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12/11/92 12:24

December 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAN MC GROARTY

FROM: ANDREW FERGUSON *af*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS AT TEXAS A & M

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, December 15th at noon you will deliver remarks to an audience of 7,500 students and faculty in the G. Rollie White Coliseum on the campus of Texas A & M.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 25 minutes / teleprompter) focus on your foreign policy accomplishments and America's role in the post-Cold War world.

DRAFT: December 11, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

(Acknowledgments)

In XX days, I will hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in the wartime skies over the Pacific. Our country won that great contest but entered an uneasy peace: the fires of World War II cooled into a longer Cold War, one that froze the world into two opposing camps -- the forces of freedom against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American. ~~Now~~, by the grit of our people and the grace of ~~our~~ God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. I leave the White House grateful for what together we have achieved, and exhilarated by the promise of what we can yet bring to pass.

Ultimately, our objective is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order. ~~Was this~~ ~~vision~~ ~~for~~ ~~ambitions?~~ Not for the American people. Today, This afternoon I would like to share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one. Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: the last best hope of earth.

This is a fact: a truth made indelible by the struggles and agonies of the 20th century. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us. History's lesson is clear: When America, victorious but weary, withdrew from the international stage following World War I, the world

At the beginning of my Presidency, I spoke before the graduating class of 1989 at Texas A & M. I spoke of the need to move beyond containment. And I said, "We seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations... World order."

militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations -- a community whose moral resolve and economic strength contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

In the end, Soviet communism proved no match for free enterprise beyond its borders or the yearning for liberty within them. And the American leadership that undermined the confidence and capacity of the communist regimes became a light for all the peoples of the world.

Steadfast and sure, generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic Alliance held together by enduring bonds among true friends, facing a Warsaw Pact forced together by occupation troops, quisling governments, and, when all else failed, the use of tanks against people.

By the 1980's, Kremlin leaders found that our Alliance would not crack when they threatened America's allies with the infamous SS-20 nuclear missile. Nor would we bend under pressure once we decided to deploy to Europe missiles to protect our Allies from this menace.

The American people showed that they would shoulder whatever defense burden was needed to assure our freedom and protect our

allies and interests. We made use of the splendid technology our free enterprise system has produced. We showed that free people are capable of both sacrifice and strength. Having learned that they could not divide our Alliance, the Soviets eventually were forced to doubt that their command economy could keep them in the race. As the Soviet system stalled and crumbled, so too did the ability of its rulers to deny their people the truth -- about us, and about them.

True, in the end Soviet communism was destroyed by its own dysfunctional dialectic. *and by the courage of the Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian and other peoples who thrived for freedom.* But the Soviet Union did not simply lose the Cold War; the Western democracies won it. I say this not to gloat but to make a point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle -- faith, strength, unity, and above all American leadership -- are those we must call upon now to win the peace. ✓

With Soviet communism in its death throes in recent years, the potential for cataclysm was never greater, the demand for American leadership was never more compelling:

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- When our German friends took their hammers to tear down that wall, they looked to America for solidarity. And we did not look away.

-- When the people of Russia blocked the tanks that tried to roll back the tide of history, Boris Yeltsin asked where we stood. America did not walk away. America answered, for the world to hear, "We stand with you."

The free peoples of the world watched in awe, ^{in 1991} as the Soviet Union ✓ collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place -- at whoever might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. We acted decisively to ^{forge partnerships with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan and to} help the ^{new countries} ~~new~~ leaders reduce their ^{nuclear} arsenals.

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Yes, we answered the call and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to create a democratic peace -- not for half a world, as before, but for people the world over. The end of the

Cold War has placed in our hands the chance to change history: to see the principles of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law -- American principles -- embraced and enjoyed by the entire human race.

This global vision can energize America as we approach the millennium. It embodies our country's tradition of idealism, which has made us unique among nations, and uniquely successful. But more than that: the advance of democratic ideals reflects a hard-nosed sense of American self-interest. For if the long struggle now concluded has taught us anything, it is this: Democracies do not commit aggression. Democracies do not sponsor terrorism. Democracies do not threaten humanity with weapons of mass destruction. Likewise, the global spread of free markets, through trade, investment, and growth, will sustain the expansion of American prosperity. By helping others, in short, we help ourselves.

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Each of these was once a dream. Today they are concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power, and

American moral force. There were obstacles and set-backs; they were overcome.

And surely serious obstacles and set-backs will confront us again. We face some already. Violence, poverty, and tribal and religious hatreds will be powerful adversaries. Overcoming them will take time and tenacity, courage and resolve; but they will be overcome. For no society, no continent, should be disqualified from our ideals. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever. And it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by strengthening our international institutions, America does not have to go it alone.

Yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. The disappearance of the Soviet challenge, they say, means America can withdraw from international responsibilities. Others assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy, that we have done our part and now it is someone else's turn. We are warned against stepping up to the troubles that abound in today's world: clan warfare and mass starvation in Somalia; savage violence in Bosnia; instability in Russia; the alarming growth of virulent nationalism throughout Europe.

And it is true: These problems -- some frozen by the Cold War, others held in check by communist repression -- seem to have ignited all at once, taxing the world's ability to respond. But let us be clear: The alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less; not the flourishing of

American principles but their isolation in a world actively hostile to them. "Destiny," it has been said, "is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved." Our choice as a people is simple: We can either shape our times, or we can let the times shape us. And shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate -- morally, economically, and strategically.

Morally, a failure to respond to massive human catastrophes like that in Somalia, where we can make the difference, will scar our National soul for a generation. When it is in our power to do something that is right and yet we fail to do it, we become less than what we are. America loses the moral authority that has made it special in history.

Economically, a world of escalating instability and hostile nationalism will disrupt global markets, touch off trade wars and set us on a path of economic decline. American jobs would be lost, our chance to compete would be blocked, and our very well-being would be undermined.

Strategically, abandonment of the world-wide democratic revolution could be disastrous for American security. What was once Yugoslavia offers a view of the future -- if we let our values die in that third of the world that has just been liberated from communism.

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delate

In Russia, in Eastern Europe, in Central Asia, the alternative to democracy is authoritarianism: aggressive, xenophobic, and violent. And in a world where weapons of mass destruction are spreading, the collapse of the democratic revolution could pose a direct threat to the safety of every American.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. Let me be blunt: a retreat from American leadership would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would not forgive us.

But we need not face such a future. Instead, we can recommit ourselves to the hard work of freedom. This does not mean running off on reckless, expensive crusades. It does not mean bearing the world's burdens alone. But it does mean leadership -- economic, political, and, yes, military -- when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference.

It seems like forever ago that the people of Germany tore down that Wall. But it has been only three years -- and just over a year since the August coup was defeated by brave Russian democrats, ^{led by President Boris Yeltsin.} In this brief time, we have embarked on a new course, through uncharted waters. It has been up to America to tend the rudder.

We have begun to define the post-Cold War reality. The old network of alliances, institutions, and regimes is being transformed to meet new challenges -- challenges that must be met

with collective action, led by the United States, to protect and promote our political, economic, and security values.

Our foundation must be the core of the democratic community that won the Cold War. We have begun to adapt America's political, economic, and defense relationships with Europe and Japan to ensure their vitality and strength in this new era. For these will be our primary partners in addressing the next generation of problems and opportunities.

For example, we have begun to transform the Atlantic Alliance, that bulwark against the Soviet threat, into a partnership with a more united Europe -- a partnership ready to meet new security challenges in this age of uncertainty. And a new feature of our Alliance, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, enables NATO to reach out to our former adversaries in the Warsaw Pact.

In the Pacific, we have affirmed the importance of the U.S.-Japan security ties to stability in Asia, but also explored ways to work together as global partners to address common interests -- in economics, development, and regional problems.

Then we have committed ourselves to expanding the democratic community by supporting political and economic freedom in nascent democracies and market economies. And we are sharing this burden with the very nations America helped after World War II.

In Central and Eastern Europe, our Enterprise Funds and other programs have helped develop a new political, economic, and civic

infrastructure for nations crushed for years by Stalin's legacy.

Now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in ~~the lands of our former enemies~~, *democratic Russia and in the other countries where reform is on the march -- Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan.*

In Latin America, our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative has opened up extraordinary possibilities for a new relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. Debt relief, investment, free trade, and environmental protection will water the home-grown efforts throughout Latin America to open up their economies and transform their societies.

We are strengthening the ability of the democratic community to deal with the political landmines the Cold War left over -- aggressive nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil war, and humanitarian crises. We have pledged our support for a more capable UN.

All over the world -- Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola, Cambodia -- we envisioned elections not only as a goal, but as a tool, a device for resolving conflicts and establishing political legitimacy.

In the area of security and arms control, we've stepped up patrol against the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The new Chemical Weapons Convention will ban chemical weapons from the arsenals of all participating states. We've strengthened multilateral export controls on nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile-related technologies. In an act without precedent, a UN inspection team is demolishing Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Once implemented, the START Treaty will ban new

see next

Insert for page 10

infrastructure for nations crushed for years by Stalin's legacy. Now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in democratic Russia and in the other countries where reform is on the march -- Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan.

In Latin America, democracy is in the ascendancy and totalitarianism in retreat. Our policy of unremitting support for democratic constitutional government has been a major factor in bringing this about. Our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative has opened up extraordinary possibilities for a new relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. Debt relief, investment, free trade and environmental protection will water the home-grown efforts throughout Latin America to open up their economies and transform their societies. And the North American Free Trade Agreement, which I will sign this Thursday portends a new era in relations with Mexico and a model for the rest of the hemisphere.

In Africa we are reaching out to support the democratization and free elections, helping Africans resolve bitter armed conflicts, and helping strengthen market-oriented economic development.

nuclear states on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

Above all, we have ^{sought} ~~seeked~~ to ban nuclear nightmares from the sleep of future generations. ✓

And we underscored one key security principle with a line in the sand: naked aggression against our vital interests will be answered decisively by American resolve, leadership, and might. Our victory in the Persian Gulf War was more than a blow for justice -- it was a needed reminder to other would-be tyrants: If you're going to threaten the freedom of others -- you're going to lose some of your own.

We have been committed to building the basis for sustained international economic growth -- for ourselves and for those nations of what were once the so-called second and third worlds. In particular, we have taken important steps toward the creation of a stronger, ^{and fairer} ~~and freer~~, international trading ^{system} ~~market~~.

Our recent breakthrough with the European Community clears the way for an early conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT and a major boost to world economic recovery. ^{When} ~~This week~~, Mexico, Canada, and the United States will sign ^{the North American Free Trade} ~~a landmark~~ agreement ^{later this week, we will} establishing the largest free trade zone the world has ever seen.

And our efforts to forge a new mechanism for Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation confirm America's commitment to continue to be an economic as well as a security power in Asia.

I believe we have taken the first steps toward a world in which democracy is commonplace, in which private enterprise, free trade

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 14, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT, 

SUBJECT: Texas A&M Speech

Attached is a great excerpt from Yeltsin's toast last June. The President will never say it as it is. We can perhaps use the first and maybe the last sentence by saying:

Yeltsin said that the U. S., and I quote, 'was the first among the leaders of the world to understand the true scope and meaning of the victory of the Russian people on August 19.' If we want also to use the last sentence, we can say 'it (the U. S.) displayed leadership, foresight and wisdom that were so needed by Russia and the future of Russian democracy.'

Attachment



Yeltsin toast at June 17 dinner for the President--Russian Embassy

"The U.S. was
"I must tell you that President Bush was the first, among the leaders of the world to understand the true scope and meaning of the victory of the Russian people on August 19, 1991. President Bush was the first among all chief executives of the countries of the world to call me in the White House in Moscow and to express his support and say that the President of the United States and of the American people stood behind Russia. Whereupon he called other Presidents and they called me. Among those Presidents, there were some who called me only in the afternoon of August 20 when the situation was absolutely clear for all. At that time, President Bush displayed leadership, foresight and wisdom that were so needed by Russia and the future of Russian democracy.

*Yeltsin said
The US "was the first"*

In Russia, in Eastern Europe, in Central Asia, the alternative to democracy is authoritarianism: aggressive, xenophobic, and violent. And in a world where weapons of mass destruction are spreading, the collapse of the democratic revolution could pose a direct threat to the safety of every American.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. Let me be blunt: a retreat from American leadership would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would not forgive us.

Handwritten signature in blue ink, possibly "C. C. G."

But we need not face such a future. Instead, we can recommit ourselves to the hard work of freedom. This does not mean running off on reckless, expensive crusades. It does not mean bearing the world's burdens alone. But it does mean leadership - economic, political, and, yes, military -- when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference.

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to?
p. 71*

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9

with collective action, led by the United States, to protect and promote our political, economic, and security values.

Our foundation must be the core of the democratic community that won the Cold War. We have begun to adapt America's political, economic, and defense relationships with Europe and Japan to ensure their vitality and strength in this new era. For these will be our primary partners in addressing the next generation of problems and opportunities.

For example, we have begun to transform the Atlantic Alliance, that bulwark against the Soviet threat, into a partnership with a more united Europe -- a partnership ready to meet new security challenges in this age of uncertainty. And a new feature of our Alliance, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, enables NATO to reach out to our former adversaries in the Warsaw Pact.

In the Pacific, we have affirmed the importance of the U.S.-Japan security ties to stability in Asia, but also explored ways to work together as global partners to address common interests -- in economics, development, and regional problems.

Then we have committed ourselves to expanding the democratic community by supporting political and economic freedom in nascent democracies and market economies. And we are sharing this burden with the very nations America helped after World War II.

In Central and Eastern Europe, our Enterprise Funds and other programs have helped develop a new political, economic, and civic

NSD
The draft of the Texas A&M speech has one tepid line on the UN, "We have pledged our support for a more capable UN." Not good enough, in light on the major change in policy in NSD 74.

Add.
Suggest: " The UN has assumed a greater role in creating stability, especially through the 14 peacekeeping operations it is conducting around the world. As I said at the general assembly last September, America can and will enter into a partnership with the UN to ~~improve its capabilities~~ for *strengthen its force as a force* peace."

infrastructure for nations crushed for years by Stalin's legacy. Now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in the lands of our former enemies.

In Latin America, our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative has opened up extraordinary possibilities for a new relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. Debt relief, investment, free trade, and environmental protection will water the home-grown efforts throughout Latin America to open up their economies and transform their societies.

In Africa we are reaching out to support the African democratization and free elections, helping Africans resolve bitter armed conflicts, and helping strengthen the market-oriented economic development.

We are strengthening the ability of the democratic community to deal with the political landmines the Cold War left over -- aggressive nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil war, and humanitarian crises. We have pledged our support for a more capable UN.

All over the world -- Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola, Cambodia -- we envisioned elections not only as a goal, but as a tool, a device for resolving conflicts and establishing political legitimacy.

In the area of security and arms control, we've stepped up patrol against the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The new Chemical Weapons Convention will ban chemical weapons from the arsenals of all participating states. We've strengthened multilateral export controls on nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile-related technologies. In an act without precedent, a UN inspection team is demolishing Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Once implemented, the START Treaty will ban new

10

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Age of dictators → dawn of democracy
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[ability to possess]
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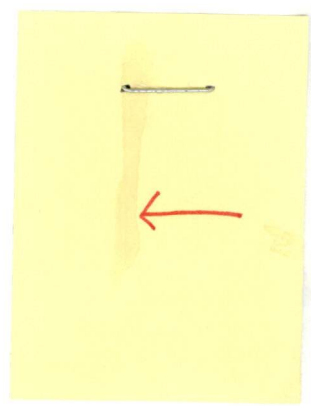
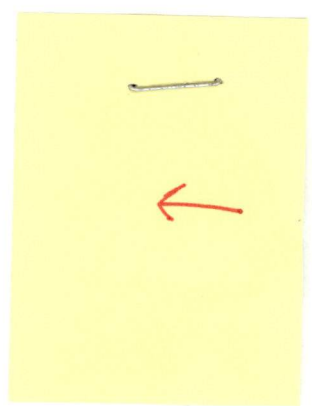
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Glennott & peer-feedback
may have been necessary
words - but - at their
The concepts ~~words~~
are well identified.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/12/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 am / MON. / 12-14

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

SUBJECT: _____

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992

| | ACTION | FYI | | ACTION | FYI |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCBRIDE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| BAKER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MOORE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
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| DARMAN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | PETERSMEYER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| HORNER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments on the attached directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, x2930, with a copy to this office. NO LATER THAN 10:00 a.m., MONDAY, DECEMBER 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary.
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12:24

December 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAN MC GROARTY

FROM: ANDREW FERGUSON *af*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS AT TEXAS A & M

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, December 15th at noon you will deliver remarks to an audience of 7,500 students and faculty in the G. Rollie White Coliseum on the campus of Texas A & M.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 25 minutes / teleprompter) focus on your foreign policy accomplishments and America's role in the post-Cold War world.

DRAFT: December 11, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

(Acknowledgments)

In XX days, I will hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in the wartime skies over the Pacific. Our country won that great contest but entered an uneasy peace: the fires of World War II cooled into a longer Cold War, one that froze the world into two opposing camps -- the forces of freedom against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American. Now, by the grit of our people and the grace of our God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. I leave the White House grateful for what together we have achieved, and exhilarated by the promise of what we can yet bring to pass.

This afternoon I would like to share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one. Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: the last best hope of earth.

This is a fact: a truth made indelible by the struggles and agonies of the 20th century. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us. History's lesson is clear: When America, victorious but weary, withdrew from the

*something
missing here*

militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations -- a community whose moral resolve and economic strength contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

In the end, Soviet communism proved no match for free enterprise beyond its borders or the yearning for liberty within them. And the American leadership that undermined the confidence and capacity of the communist regimes became a light for all the peoples of the world.

Steadfast and sure, generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic Alliance held together by enduring bonds among true friends, facing a Warsaw Pact forced together by occupation troops, quisling governments, and, when all else failed, the use of tanks against people.

By the 1980's, Kremlin leaders found that our Alliance would not crack when they threatened America's allies with the infamous SS-20 nuclear missile. Nor would we bend under pressure once we decided to deploy to Europe missiles to protect our Allies from this menace.

The American people showed that they would shoulder whatever defense burden was needed to assure our freedom and protect our

allies and interests. We made use of the splendid technology our free enterprise system has produced. We showed that free people are capable of both sacrifice and strength. Having learned that they could not divide our Alliance, the Soviets eventually were forced to doubt that their command economy could keep them in the race. As the Soviet system stalled and crumbled, so too did the ability of its rulers to deny their people the truth -- about us, and about them.

True, in the end Soviet communism was destroyed by its own dysfunctional dialectic. But the Soviet Union did not simply lose the Cold War; the Western democracies won it. I say this not to gloat but to make a point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle -- faith, strength, unity, and above all American leadership -- are those we must call upon now to win the peace.

With Soviet communism in its death throes in recent years, the potential for cataclysm was never greater, the demand for American leadership was never more compelling:

- As the peoples of Eastern Europe made their bold but peaceful move for freedom, they turned to America. And we did not turn away.
- When our German friends took their hammers to tear down that wall, they looked to America for solidarity. And we did not look away.

-- When the people of Russia blocked the tanks that tried to roll back the tide of history, Boris Yeltsin asked where we stood. America did not walk away. America answered, for the world to hear, "We stand with you."

The free peoples of the world watched in awe as the Soviet Union collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place -- at whoever might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. We acted decisively to help the new leaders reduce their arsenals.

Here, then, is the remarkable fact that history will record: the end of a titantic clash of political systems, the collapse of the most heavily armed empire in history, took place without a shot being fired. That should be a source of pride for every American.

From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the Cold War, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable. No one person deserves credit for this; America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for -- and are made of.

Yes, we answered the call and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to create a democratic peace -- not for half a world, as before, but for people the world over. The end of the

Cold War has placed in our hands the chance to change history: to see the principles of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law -- American principles -- embraced and enjoyed by the entire human race.

This global vision can energize America as we approach the millennium. It embodies our country's tradition of idealism, which has made us unique among nations, and uniquely successful. But more than that: the advance of democratic ideals reflects a hard-nosed sense of American self-interest. For if the long struggle now concluded has taught us anything, it is this: Democracies do not commit aggression. Democracies do not sponsor terrorism. Democracies do not threaten humanity with weapons of mass destruction. Likewise, the global spread of free markets, through trade, investment, and growth, will sustain the expansion of American prosperity. By helping others, in short, we help ourselves.

Some will dismiss this vision as no more than a dream. I ask them to consider the last four years, when a dozen dreams were made real. The Berlin Wall demolished; the captive nations set free; Russia democratic; whole classes of nuclear weapons eliminated, the rest vastly reduced; the United Nations turning back a tyrant in the Persian Gulf; Israel and each of its Arab neighbors talking peace in a region that has known so much war.

Each of these was once a dream. Today they are concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power, and

American moral force. There were obstacles and set-backs; they were overcome.

And surely serious obstacles and set-backs will confront us again. We face some already. Violence, poverty, and tribal and religious hatreds will be powerful adversaries. Overcoming them will take time and tenacity, courage and resolve; but they will be overcome. For no society, no continent, should be disqualified from our ideals. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever. And it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by strengthening our international institutions, America does not have to go it alone.

Yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. The disappearance of the Soviet challenge, they say, means America can withdraw from international responsibilities. Others assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy, that we have done our part and now it is someone else's turn. We are warned against stepping up to the troubles that abound in today's world: clan warfare and mass starvation in Somalia; savage violence in Bosnia; instability in Russia; the alarming growth of virulent nationalism throughout Europe.

And it is true: These problems -- some frozen by the Cold War, others held in check by communist repression -- seem to have ignited all at once, taxing the world's ability to respond. But let us be clear: The alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less; not the flourishing of

American principles but their isolation in a world actively hostile to them. "Destiny," it has been said, "is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved." Our choice as a people is simple: We can either shape our times, or we can let the times shape us. And shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate -- morally, economically, and strategically.

Morally, a failure to respond to massive human catastrophes like that in Somalia, where we can make the difference, will scar our National soul for a generation. When it is in our power to do something that is right and yet we fail to do it, we become less than what we are. America loses the moral authority that has made it special in history.

Economically, a world of escalating instability and hostile nationalism will disrupt global markets, touch off trade wars and set us on a path of economic decline. American jobs would be lost, our chance to compete would be blocked, and our very well-being would be undermined.

Strategically, abandonment of the world-wide democratic revolution could be disastrous for American security. What was once Yugoslavia offers a view of the future -- if we let our values die in that third of the world that has just been liberated from communism.

In Russia, in Eastern Europe, in Central Asia, the alternative to democracy is authoritarianism: aggressive, xenophobic, and violent. And in a world where weapons of mass destruction are spreading, the collapse of the democratic revolution could pose a direct threat to the safety of every American.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. Let me be blunt: a retreat from American leadership would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would not forgive us.

But we need not face such a future. Instead, we can recommit ourselves to the hard work of freedom. This does not mean running off on reckless, expensive crusades. It does not mean bearing the world's burdens alone. But it does mean leadership -- economic, political, and, yes, military -- when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference.

It seems like forever ago that the people of Germany tore down that Wall. But it has been only three years -- and just over a year since the August coup was defeated by brave Russian democrats. In this brief time, we have embarked on a new course, through uncharted waters. It has been up to America to tend the rudder.

We have begun to define the post-Cold War reality. The old network of alliances, institutions, and regimes is being transformed to meet new challenges -- challenges that must be met

with collective action, led by the United States, to protect and promote our political, economic, and security values.

Our foundation must be the core of the democratic community that won the Cold War. We have begun to adapt America's political, economic, and defense relationships with Europe and Japan to ensure their vitality and strength in this new era. For these will be our primary partners in addressing the next generation of problems and opportunities.

For example, we have begun to transform the Atlantic Alliance, that bulwark against the Soviet threat, into a partnership with a more united Europe -- a partnership ready to meet new security challenges in this age of uncertainty. And a new feature of our Alliance, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, enables NATO to reach out to our former adversaries in the Warsaw Pact.

In the Pacific, we have affirmed the importance of the U.S.-Japan security ties to stability in Asia, but also explored ways to work together as global partners to address common interests -- in economics, development, and regional problems.

Then we have committed ourselves to expanding the democratic community by supporting political and economic freedom in nascent democracies and market economies. And we are sharing this burden with the very nations America helped after World War II.

In Central and Eastern Europe, our Enterprise Funds and other programs have helped develop a new political, economic, and civic

infrastructure for nations crushed for years by Stalin's legacy. Now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in the lands of our former enemies.

In Latin America, our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative has opened up extraordinary possibilities for a new relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. Debt relief, investment, free trade, and environmental protection will water the home-grown efforts throughout Latin America to open up their economies and transform their societies. *our continuing commitment, as we speak, is being underlined by Vice President Quayle's participation in a ceremony demobilizing both sides in El Salvador's long civil war. Peace has been achieved.*

We are strengthening the ability of the democratic community to deal with the political landmines the Cold War left over -- aggressive nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil war, and humanitarian crises. We have pledged our support for a more capable UN.

All over the world -- Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola, Cambodia -- we envisioned elections not only as a goal, but as a tool, a device for resolving conflicts and establishing political legitimacy.

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VP Quayle

nuclear states on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Above all, we have sought to ban nuclear nightmares from the sleep of future generations.

And we underscored one key security principle with a line in the sand: naked aggression against our vital interests will be answered decisively by American resolve, leadership, and might. Our victory in the Persian Gulf War was more than a blow for justice -- it was a needed reminder to other would-be tyrants: If you're going to threaten the freedom of others -- you're going to lose some of your own.

We have been committed to building the basis for sustained international economic growth -- for ourselves and for those nations of what were once the so-called second and third worlds. In particular, we have taken important steps toward the creation of a stronger and freer international trading market.

Our recent breakthrough with the European Community clears the way for an early conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT and a major boost to world economic recovery. This week, Mexico, Canada, and the United States will sign a landmark agreement establishing the largest free trade zone the world has ever seen. And our efforts to forge a new mechanism for Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation confirm America's commitment to continue to be an economic as well as a security power in Asia.

I believe we have taken the first steps toward a world in which democracy is commonplace, in which private enterprise, free trade

and prosperity reach every region. A world in which the rule of law prevails, and in which ethnic hatred has been buried for good.

We must not stumble as we travel toward a world without the brutal violence of Bosnia, the deadly anarchy of Somalia, or the squalor that still haunts much of the Southern Hemisphere. We cannot rest while a handful of renegade regimes aspire to obtain weapons of mass destruction with which to threaten their neighbors, or even our own Nation. There is a difficult distance to go before we are within reach of the democratic peace. But these first steps have determined an important direction.

The challenge ahead is as great as the one we faced at the end of the last great war. But the opportunity is vastly greater. Success will require American vision and resolve. It will require unity of purpose: a commitment on the part of all our people to the proposition that our Nation's destiny lies in the hope of a better world -- a world made better by American leadership.

History is summoning us once again to lead. We must live up to the greatness of our forefathers' ideals, and in so doing secure our grandchildren's futures.

That is the cause that my entire life as a public servant has been dedicated to fulfilling. That is the cause that you and I must now support our new President in pursuing.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

Mc Groarty:
Eurocentric
w/ pacific rim

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



To

December 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAN MC GROARTY

FROM: ANDREW FERGUSON *AF*

+ Andy Ferguson

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS AT TEXAS A & M

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, December 15th at noon you will deliver remarks to an audience of 7,500 students and faculty in the G. Rollie White Coliseum on the campus of Texas A & M.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 25 minutes / teleprompter) focus on your foreign policy accomplishments and America's role in the post-Cold War world.

12/14 RBZ edits - Mon am

*Dan,
Per our discussion.*

DRAFT: December 11, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A & M
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1992
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

(Acknowledgments)

In XX days, I will hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in the wartime skies over the Pacific. Our country won that great contest but entered an uneasy peace: the fires of World War II cooled into a longer Cold War, one that froze the world into two opposing camps -- the forces of freedom against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American. Now, by the *determination* ~~grit~~ ^{determination} of our people and the grace of ~~our~~ God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. I leave the White House grateful for what together we have achieved, and exhilarated by the promise of what we can yet bring to pass. X X - sp?

This afternoon I would like to share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one. Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: the last best hope of earth.

This is a fact: a truth made indelible by the struggles and agonies of the 20th century. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us. History's lesson is clear: When America, victorious but weary, withdrew from the international stage following World War I, the world spawned

militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations -- a community whose moral resolve and economic strength contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

In the end, Soviet communism proved no match for free enterprise beyond its borders or the yearning for liberty within them. And the American leadership that undermined the confidence and capacity of the communist regimes became a ~~light~~ ^{beacon} for all the peoples of the world. beacon

Steadfast and sure, generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic Alliance held together by enduring bonds among true friends, facing a Warsaw Pact forced together by occupation troops, quisling governments, and, when all else failed, the use of tanks against people. //

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True, in the end Soviet communism was destroyed by its own ~~dysfunctional dialectic~~ ^{warped ways?} ~~warped ways~~. But the Soviet Union did not simply lose the Cold War; the Western democracies won it. I say this not to gloat but to make a point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle -- faith, strength, unity, and above all American leadership -- are those we must call upon now to win the peace.

With Soviet communism in its death throes in recent years, the potential for cataclysm was never greater, the demand for American leadership was never more compelling:

- As the peoples of Eastern Europe made their bold but peaceful move for freedom, they turned to America. And we did not turn away.
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~~Splendid
Bolt
Word~~

~~Can't
imagine
POTUS
saying
this~~

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The free peoples of the world watched in awe as the Soviet Union collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place -- at whoever might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. We acted decisively to help the new leaders reduce their arsenals.

Here, then, is the remarkable fact that history will record: the end of a titanic clash of political systems, the collapse of the most heavily armed empire in history, took place without a shot being fired. That should be a source of pride for every American.

From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the Cold War, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable. No one person deserves credit for this; America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for -- and ^{what we} are made of.

Yes, we answered the call and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to create a democratic peace -- not for half a world, as before, but for people the world over. The end of the

Cold War has placed in our hands the chance to change history: to see the principles of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law -- American principles -- embraced and enjoyed by the entire human race.

This global vision can energize America as we approach the millennium. It embodies our country's tradition of idealism, which has made us unique among nations, and uniquely successful. But more than that: the advance of democratic ideals reflects a hard-nosed sense of American self-interest. For if the long struggle now concluded has taught us anything, it is this: Democracies do not commit aggression. Democracies do not sponsor terrorism. Democracies do not threaten humanity with weapons of mass destruction. Likewise, the global spread of free markets, through trade, investment, and growth, will sustain the expansion of American prosperity. By helping others, in short, we help ourselves.

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Each of these was once a dream. Today they are concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power, and

American moral force. There were obstacles and set-backs, they were overcome. 2-3-84
chk

✓ And surely serious obstacles and set-backs will confront us again. We face some already. Violence, poverty, and tribal and religious hatreds will be powerful adversaries. Overcoming them will take time and tenacity, courage and resolve; but they will be overcome. For no society, no continent, should be disqualified from ^{sharing} our ideals. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever. And it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by strengthening our international institutions, America does not have to ^{stand/work} ~~go it~~ alone. ✓

Yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. The disappearance of the Soviet challenge, they say, means America can withdraw from international responsibilities. Others assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy, that we have done our part and now it is someone else's turn. We are warned against stepping up to the troubles that abound in today's world: clan warfare and mass starvation in Somalia; savage violence in Bosnia; instability in Russia; the alarming growth of virulent nationalism throughout Europe.

And it is true: These problems -- some frozen by the Cold War, others held in check by communist repression -- seem to have ignited all at once, taxing the world's ability to respond. But let us be clear: The alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less; not the flourishing of

Look to the residue of design.

American principles but their isolation in a world actively hostile to them. "Destiny," it has been said, "is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved." Our choice as a people is simple: We can either shape our times, or we can let the times shape us. And shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate -- morally, economically, and strategically.

Morally, a failure to respond to massive human catastrophes like that in Somalia, where we can make the difference, will scar our National soul for a generation. When it is in our power to do something that is right and yet we fail to do it, we become less than what we are. America loses the moral authority that has made it special in history.

Economically, a world of escalating instability and hostile nationalism will disrupt global markets, ignite trade wars and set us on a path of economic decline. American jobs would be lost, our chance to compete would be blocked, and our very well-being would be undermined.

Strategically, abandonment of the world-wide democratic revolution could be disastrous for American security. What was once Yugoslavia offers a glimpse of the future -- if we let our values die in that third of the world that has just been liberated from communism.

~~'view' too close to positive or vision~~

In Russia, in Eastern Europe, in Central Asia, the alternative to democracy is authoritarianism: aggressive, xenophobic, and violent. And in a world where weapons of mass destruction are spreading, the collapse of the democratic revolution could pose a direct threat to the safety of every American.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. Let me be blunt: a retreat from American leadership would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would not forgive us.

But we need not face such a future. Instead, we can ~~recommit~~ ^{re dedicate} ourselves to the ~~hard work~~ ^{continuing challenges} of freedom. This does not mean running off on reckless, expensive crusades. It does not mean bearing the world's burdens alone. But it does mean leadership - economic, political, and, yes, military -- when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference.

It seems ~~like forever~~ ^{ages} ago that the people of Germany tore down that Wall. But it has been only three years -- and just over a year since the August coup was defeated by brave Russian democrats. In this brief time, we have embarked on a new course, through uncharted waters. It has been up to America to ~~lead~~ ^{guide} the rudder.

We have begun to define the post-Cold War reality. ^{We are transforming} The old network of alliances, institutions, and regimes ~~is being~~ ^{transformed} to meet new challenges -- challenges that must be met

~~transforming?~~

with collective action, led by the United States, to protect and promote our political, economic, and security values.

Our foundation must be the core of the democratic community that won the Cold War. We have begun to adapt America's political, economic, and defense relationships with Europe and Japan to ensure their vitality and strength in this new era. For these will be our primary partners in addressing the next generation of problems and opportunities.

For example, we have begun to transform the Atlantic Alliance, that bulwark against the Soviet threat, into a partnership with a more united Europe -- a partnership ^{primed} ~~ready~~ to meet new security challenges in this age of uncertainty. And a new feature of our Alliance, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, enables NATO to reach out to our former adversaries in the Warsaw Pact.

In the Pacific, we have affirmed the importance of the U.S.-Japan security ties to stability in Asia, but also explored ways to work together as global partners to address common interests -- in economics, development, and regional problems.

Then we have committed ourselves to expanding the democratic community by supporting political and economic freedom in nascent democracies and market economies. And we are sharing this burden with the very nations America helped after World War II.

In Central and Eastern Europe, our Enterprise Funds and other programs have helped develop a new political, economic, and civic

infrastructure for nations ~~crushed~~ ^{long oppressed} for years by Stalin's legacy. Now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in the lands of our former enemies.

In Latin America, our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative has opened up extraordinary possibilities for a new relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. Debt relief, investment, free trade, and environmental protection will ^{nurture} ~~water~~ the home-grown efforts throughout Latin America to open up their economies and transform their societies.

We are strengthening the ability of the democratic community to deal with the political landmines the Cold War left over -- aggressive nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil war, and humanitarian crises. We have pledged our support for a more capable UN.

All over the world -- Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola, Cambodia -- we envisioned elections not only as a goal, but as a tool, a device for resolving conflicts and establishing political legitimacy.

In the area of security and arms control, we've stepped up patrol against the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The new Chemical Weapons Convention will ban chemical weapons from the arsenals of all participating states. We've strengthened multilateral export controls on nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile-related technologies. In an act without precedent, a UN inspection team is demolishing Iraq's weapons ^{unconv.} ~~of mass~~ ^{capability.} destruction]. Once implemented, the START Treaty will ban new

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nuclear states on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Above all, we have ~~sought~~ ^{sought} ~~erased~~ ^{erased} to ban nuclear nightmares from the sleep of future generations. X ✓

And we underscored one key security principle with a line in the sand: naked aggression against our vital interests will be answered decisively by American resolve, leadership, and might. Our victory in the Persian Gulf War was more than a blow for justice -- it was a needed reminder to other would-be tyrants: If you're ~~going to~~ threaten the freedom of others -- you're ~~going~~ ^{going} to lose some of your own. ✓

We have been committed to building the basis for sustained international economic growth -- for ourselves and for those nations of what were once the so-called second and third worlds. In particular, we have taken important steps toward the creation of a stronger and freer international trading market.

Our recent breakthrough with the European Community clears the way for an early conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT and a major boost to world economic recovery. This week, Mexico, Canada, and the United States will sign a landmark agreement establishing the largest free trade zone the world has ever ~~seen~~ ^{known}. And our efforts to forge a new mechanism for Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation confirm America's commitment to ~~continue to~~ ^{remain as} be an economic ~~as well as a~~ ^{and} security power in ~~Asia~~ ^{the region}. ✓

I believe we have taken the first steps toward a world in which democracy is ~~commonplace~~ ^{a given}, in which private enterprise, free trade X ✓

and prosperity ^{enrich} reach every ^{country} region. A world in which the rule of law prevails, and in which ethnic hatred ^{is} has been buried forever, good.

We must not stumble as we travel toward a world without the brutal violence of Bosnia, the ^{scary} ~~deadly~~ anarchy of Somalia, or the squalor that still haunts much of the Southern Hemisphere. We cannot rest while a handful of renegade regimes aspire to obtain weapons of mass destruction with which to threaten their neighbors, or even ^{America} our own Nation. There is a difficult distance to go before we are within reach of the democratic peace. But these first steps have ^{placed it within sight} determined an important direction.

The challenge ahead is as great as the one we faced at the end of the last great war. But the opportunity is vastly greater. Success will require American vision and resolve. It will require unity of purpose: a commitment on the part of all our people to the proposition that our Nation's destiny lies in the hope of a better world -- a world made better by American leadership.

History is summoning us once again to lead. We must live up to the greatness of our forefathers' ideals, and in so doing secure our grandchildren's futures.

That is the cause that my entire life as a public servant has been dedicated to fulfilling. That is the cause that you and I must now support our new President in pursuing.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(College Station, Texas)

For Immediate Release

December 15, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO THE FACULTY AND STUDENTS
OF TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

G. Rollie White Coliseum
College Station, Texas

12:08 P.M. CST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all for that welcome back. (Applause.) Thank you very, very much. Good afternoon, everybody. And thank you all. I knew if I wore this necktie I'd get a nice welcome. But anyway -- (applause). Thank you, Dr. Mobley -- thank you, Bill for your kind introduction.

And may I salute congressmen that are with us today -- Congressman Joe Barton and Congressman Jack Fields and Commissioner Rick Perry and Kay Bailey Hutchison and Representative Ogden; my old friend Fred McClure, who served at my side in the White House. And may I thank Chairman Ross Margraves for the wonderful program that he arranged for me today as I heard about this library. And I salute the Board of Regents members that are here; the members of the Library Committee; Chancellor Richardson, I think I mentioned, but I salute him.

And I want to say thanks to my hosts, the Memorial Student Center Political Forum. (Applause.) When that forum started, I think Congressman Bob Eckhardt and I were the first two speakers to speak at the political forum. And that -- I'd hate to tell you how far back that was. But anyway, I'm glad to be back here. And may I send my heartiest thanks to the corps of cadets and the fightin' Texas Aggies band over here. (Applause.)

And as I told Bill Mobley and Ross earlier on, a personal note, I am looking forward to spending more time here to actively participating in our presidential library that will be built here, to helping with the School of Public Service that will be part of that library. And Barbara and I are both looking forward to being part of the A&M family. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

And now for the business at hand. In 36 days, I'll hand over the stewardship of this great nation, capping a career in public service that began 50 years ago in wartime skies over the Pacific. And our country won that great contest but entered an uneasy peace. You see, the fires of World War II cooled into a longer cold war, and one that froze the world into two opposing camps: on the one side, America and its allies -- and on the other, the forces of freedom, thus, against an alien ideology that cast its shadow over every American.

And three years ago, when I was honored to address the graduating class, here at Texas A&M, I spoke of the need to move "beyond containment." And I said, "We seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Ultimately, our objective is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order." And was this aim too ambitious? Not for the American people.

And today, by the grit of our people and the grace of God, the Cold War is over. Freedom has carried the day. And leave the White House grateful for what we have achieved together

-- (applause) -- and also, exhilarated by the promise of what can come to pass.

This afternoon I would like to just share some of my thoughts on the past few years and on America's purpose in the world. My thesis is a simple one: Amid the triumph and the tumult of the recent past, one truth rings out more clearly than ever. America remains today what Lincoln said it was more than a century ago: the last best hope of man on Earth.

And this is a fact -- a truth made indelible by the struggles and the agonies of the 20th century -- and in the sacrifice symbolized by each towering oak on Simpson Drill Field here at Texas A&M University. The leadership, the power, and yes, the conscience of the United States of America -- all are essential for a peaceful, prosperous international order, just as such an order is essential for us.

History's lesson is clear: When a war-weary America withdrew from the international stage following World War I, the world spawned militarism, fascism, and aggression unchecked, plunging mankind into another devastating conflict. But in answering the call to lead after World War II, we built from the principles of democracy and the rule of law a new community of free nations -- a community whose strength, perseverance, patience, and unity of purpose contained Soviet totalitarianism and kept the peace.

In the end, Soviet communism provided no match for free enterprise beyond its borders or the yearning for liberty within them. And the American leadership that undermined the confidence and capacity of the communist regimes became a beacon for all the peoples of the world.

Steadfast and sure, generations of Americans stood in the path of the Soviet advance, while our adversary probed for weaknesses that were never found. Presidents from both parties led an Atlantic alliance held together by the bonds of principle and love of liberty; facing a Warsaw Pact lashed together by occupation troops and quisling governments; and when all else failed, the use of tanks against its own people.

And by the 1980s, Kremlin leaders found that our alliance would not crack when they threatened America's allies with the infamous SS-20 nuclear missile. And nor did the alliance shrink from the deployment of countervailing missiles to defend against this menace.

In the Pacific, too, we built a new alliance with Japan, defended Korea, and called hundreds of thousands of Americans to sacrifice in the jungles of Southeast Asia.

The American people demonstrated that they would shoulder whatever defense burden, make whatever sacrifice was needed, to assure our freedom and protect our allies and interests. And we made use of this superb technology that our free enterprise system has produced. And having learned that they could not divide our alliance, the Soviets eventually were forced to realize that their command economy simply could not compete. And as the Soviet system stalled and crumbled, so too did the ability of its rulers to deny their people the truth -- about us, and about them.

And in the end, Soviet communism was destroyed by its own internal contradictions. New leaders with new vision faced the hard truths that their predecessors had long denied -- glasnost, perestroika -- they may have been Russian words, but the concepts at their core were universal.

And the Soviet Union did not simply lose the Cold War, the western democracies won it. And I say this not to gloat but to make a key point. The qualities that enabled us to

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triumph in that struggle -- faith, strength, unity, and above all American leadership -- are those we must call upon now to win the peace. (Applause.)

In recent years, with the Soviet empire in its death throes, the potential for crisis and conflict was never greater, the demand for American leadership never more compelling.

As the peoples of Eastern Europe made their bold move for freedom, we urged them along a peaceful path to liberation. They turned to us, they turned to America -- and we did not turn away.

And when our German friends took their hammers to tear down that wall, we encouraged a united Germany safely within the NATO alliance. They looked to America, and we did not look away.

And when the people of Russia blocked the tanks that tried to roll back the tide of history, America did not walk away.

I can remember, I can remember speaking to Boris Yeltsin at that terrible moment of crisis. And at times the static on the telephone made it almost impossible to hear him. But there was no mistaking what he wanted to know. He asked where the United States of America stood. And America answered, for all the world to hear, "We stand with you." (Applause.)

And Boris Yeltsin to this day hasn't forgotten. Praising our country on his visit to the White House this June, he said George Bush was the first to understand the true scope and meaning of the victory of the Russian people on August 19, 1991. He addressed me -- (applause) -- he addressed me but he was talking about our country, the United States of America.

The free peoples of the world watched, they watched in awe as the Soviet Union collapsed, but they held their breath at what might take its place -- wondering who might control its tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Only America could manage that danger. We acted decisively to help the new leaders reduce their arsenals -- and gain firm control of those that remain.

Here, then, is the remarkable fact that history will record, a fact that will be studied for years in the library right here at Texas A&M University: the end of a titanic clash of political systems, the collapse of the most heavily armed empire in history, took place without a shot being fired. That should be a source of pride for every American. (Applause.)

From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the Cold War, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable. No one person deserves credit for this -- America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for -- and what we are made of.

Yes, we answered the call, and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to win the democratic peace -- not for half a world, as before, but for people the world over. The end of the Cold War, you see, has placed in our hands a unique opportunity to see the principles for which America has stood for two centuries -- democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law -- spread more widely than ever before in human history.

For the first time, turning this global vision into a new and better world is, indeed, a realistic possibility. It is a hope that embodies our country's tradition of idealism, which has made us unique among nations, and uniquely successful. And our vision is not mere utopianism: the advance of democratic

ideals reflects a hard-nosed sense of American self-interest. For certain truths have, indeed, now become evident: governments responsive to the will of the people are not likely to commit aggression. They are not likely to sponsor terrorism, or to threaten humanity with weapons of mass destruction. Likewise, the global spread of free markets, by encouraging trade, investment, and growth, will sustain the expansion of American prosperity. In short, by helping others, we help ourselves. (Applause.)

Some will dismiss this vision as no more than a dream. I ask them to consider the last four years, when a dozen dreams were made real. The Berlin Wall demolished, and Germany united; the captive nations set free; Russia democratic; whole classes of nuclear weapons eliminated, the rest vastly reduced; many nations united in our historic U.N. coalition to turn back a tyrant in the Persian Gulf; -- (Applause) -- Israel and its Arab neighbors, for the first time talking peace -- face to face -- in a region that has known so much war.

Each of these once seemed a dream. Today they're concrete realities, brought about by a common cause: the patient and judicious application of American leadership, American power, and American -- perhaps most of all -- American moral force. (Applause.) Without a doubt, there's going to be serious obstacles and set-backs ahead. You know and I know they we face some already -- violence, poverty, ethnic and religious hatreds will be powerful adversaries. And overcoming them is going to take time and it's going to take tenacity, courage and commitment. But I am absolutely convinced that they can be overcome.

Look to Europe, where nations, after centuries of war, transformed themselves into a peaceful, progressive community. No society, no continent should be disqualified from sharing the ideals of human liberty. The community of democratic nations is more robust than ever. And it will gain strength as it grows. By working with our allies, by invigorating our international institutions, America does not have to stand alone.

And yet from some quarters we hear voices sounding the retreat. We've carried the burden too long, they say. And the disappearance of the Soviet challenge means that America can withdraw from international responsibilities. And then others assert that domestic needs preclude an active foreign policy -- that we've done our part: now it's someone else's turn. We're warned against entangling ourselves in the troubles that abound in today's world. To name only a few: clan warfare, mass starvation in Somalia; savage violence in Bosnia; instability in the former Soviet Union, the alarming growth of virulent nationalism.

And it's true: these problems -- some frozen by the Cold War, others held in check by communist repression -- seem to have ignited all at once, taxing the world's ability to respond. But let's be clear: the alternative to American leadership is not more security for our citizens but less; not the flourishing -- (applause) -- not the flourishing of American principles but their isolation in a world actively held hostile to them.

"Destiny," it has been said, "is not a matter of chance, it's a matter of choice; it's not a thing to be waited for, it's a thing to be achieved." And we can never safely assume that our future will be an improvement over the past. Our choice as a people is simple: We can either shape our times, or we can let the times shape us. And shape us they will, at a price frightening to contemplate -- morally, economically, and strategically.

Morally, a failure to respond to massive human catastrophes like that in Somalia would scar the soul of our national. There can be no single or simple set of guidelines for foreign policy -- we should help. But we should consider using military force only in those situations where the stakes warrant, where it can be effective and its application limited in scope

and time. As we seek to save lives, we must always be mindful of the lives that we may have to put at risk.

Economically, a world of escalating instability and hostile nationalism will disrupt global markets, set off trade wars, set us on a path of economic decline. American jobs would be lost, our chance to compete would be blocked, and our very well-being would be undermined.

Economically -- that is, on strategic side, strategically, abandonment of the worldwide democratic revolution could be disastrous for American security. The alternative to democracy, I think we would all agree, is authoritarianism: regimes that can be repressive, xenophobic, aggressive, and violent. And in a world where despite U.S. efforts, weapons of mass destruction are spreading, the collapse of the democratic revolution could pose a direct threat to the safety of every single American.

The new world could, in time, be as menacing as the old. And let me be blunt: A retreat from American leadership -- from American involvement -- would be a mistake for which future generations, indeed our own children, would pay dearly. (Applause.)

But we can influence the future. We can rededicate ourselves to hard work of freedom. And this doesn't mean running off on reckless, expensive crusades. It doesn't mean bearing the world's burdens all alone. But it does mean leadership -- economic, political, and, yes, military -- when our interests and values are at risk and where we can make a difference. And when we place our young men and women of the military in harm's way, we must be able to assure them and their families that their mission is defined, and that its success can be achieved.

It seems like ages ago that the people of Germany tore down that wall. But it's been only three years -- and just over a year since the August coup was defeated by brave Russian democrats. And in this brief time, we've embarked on a new course through uncharted waters. The United States and its friends -- old and new -- have begun to define the post-Cold War reality. And we are already transforming the old network of alliances, institutions, and regimes to face the future. And those challenges must be met with collective action, led by the United States, to protect and promote our political, economic, and security values.

Our foundation must be the democratic community that won the Cold War. And we've begun to adapt America's political, economic, and defense relationships with Europe and Japan to ensure their vitality and strength in this new era. And for these will continue to be essential partners in addressing the next generation of problems and opportunities.

For example, we've begun to transform the Atlantic Alliance, that bulwark against the Soviet threat, into a partnership with a more united Europe -- a partnership primed to meet new security challenges in this age of uncertainty. And a new feature of our alliance, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, enables NATO to reach out to our former adversaries in the Warsaw Pact.

And in the Pacific, we've affirmed the importance of the U.S.-Japan security ties to stability in Asia. But we're also exploring ways to work together as global partners to address common interests -- in economics, development, and regional problems.

And then we've committed ourselves to expanding the democratic community by supporting political and economic freedom in nascent democracies and market economies. And we're sharing this burden with the very nations America helped after World War II.

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Look, in Central and Eastern Europe, our enterprise funds and these other programs have helped develop a new political, economic, and civic infrastructure for nations long oppressed by Stalin's legacy. And now the Freedom Support Act will provide crucial help for reform in the lands of our former enemies.

In Latin America, the day of the dictator has given way to the dawn of democracy. This very day, our Vice President is taking part in a ceremony in El Salvador that caps the long effort to end the killing and give the people there the opportunity to live in peace. (Applause.)

Throughout the region, economic initiatives are helping a new generation of leaders reform their societies. The Brady Plan and our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative have opened up extraordinary possibilities for a new relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. Investment, free trade, debt relief, and environmental protection will nurture the home-grown reforms throughout Latin America.

And we're strengthening the ability of the democratic community to deal with the political landmines that the Cold War has exposed -- aggressive nationalism, earlier I mentioned ethnic conflict, civil war, and humanitarian crises. The United States has led the world in supporting a United Nations more capable with dealing with these crises.

And all over the world -- Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola, Cambodia -- we've promoted elections not only as a goal, but as a tool, a device for resolving conflicts and establishing political legitimacy. (Applause.)

And one of vital interest to every young person -- in the area of security and arms control, we've stepped up patrol against the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The new Chemical Weapons Convention will ban chemical weapons from the arsenals of all participating states. We've strengthened multilateral export controls on nuclear and chemical and biological and missile-related technologies. And in a mission without precedent, a U.N. Inspection team is demolishing Iraq's unconventional weapons capability. And we're going to support them ever inch of the way. (Applause.)

And once implemented, the agreements we've negotiated will ban new nuclear states on the territory of the former Soviet Union. And above all, we've sought to erase nuclear nightmares from the sleep of future generations. (Applause.)

And we underscored one key security principle with a line in the sand: naked aggression against our vital interests will be answered decisively by American resolve, American leadership, and American might. (Applause.) Our victory in the Gulf -- in the Persian Gulf -- was more than a blow for justice, it was a reminder to other would-be aggressors that they will pay a price for their outlaw acts. (Applause.)

And we've been committed to building the basis for sustained international economic growth -- for ourselves and for those nations of what were once the so-called second and third worlds. The heart of our efforts has been the creation of a stronger and freer international trading market.

And our recent breakthrough with the European Community clears the way for an early conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT and a major boost to world economic recovery. This week, Mexico, Canada, and the United States will sign a landmark agreement establishing the largest free trade zone the world has ever seen. (Applause.) And our efforts to forge a new mechanism for Asia Pacific economic cooperation, confirm America's commitment to remain an economic and security power in Asia.

I believe we've taken important steps toward a world in which democracy is the norm, in which private enterprise, free trade, and prosperity enrich every region -- a world in which the rule of law prevails.

We must not stumble as we travel toward a world without the brutal violence of Bosnia, the deadly anarchy of Somalia, or the squalor that still haunts so much of the globe. We can't rest while a handful of renegade regimes aspire to obtain weapons of mass destruction with which to threaten their neighbors, or even America. There is much to be done before we are within reach of the democratic peace. But these first steps have taken us in the right direction.

And the challenge ahead then, is as great as the one we faced at the end of the last great war. But the opportunity is vastly greater. Success will require American vision and resolve -- an America secure in its military -- (applause) -- America secure in its military, moral and economic strength. Success will require unity of purpose: a commitment on the part of all our people to the proposition that our nation's destiny lies in the hope of a better world -- a new world made better, with our friends and allies, again by American leadership.

History is summoning us once again to lead. Proud of its past, America must once again look forward. And we must live up to the greatness of our forefathers' ideals, and in doing so secure our grandchildren's futures.

And that is the cause that much of my public life has been dedicated to serving. (Applause.) Let me just say this -- (applause) -- in 36 -- (applause) hey listen -- (applause). Come on now, you guys, as Barbara Bush would say -- (applause).

But in 36 days we will have a new president. And I am confident, I am very confident that he will do his level best to serve the cause that I have outlined here today. And he's going to have my support -- (applause) -- and he will have my support; and I'll stay out his way. And I really mean that. But it is more important -- it is more important than my support, it is more important that he have your support. You are our future. (Applause.)

God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. (Applause.) Thank you all. (Applause.)

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12:42 P.M. CST